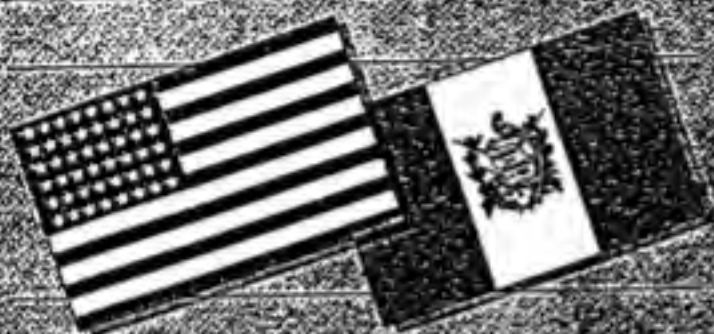


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Operation PBSUCCESS



The United States
and
Guatemala
1952-1954

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Nicholas Cullather



History Staff
Center for the Study of Intelligence
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, DC
1994

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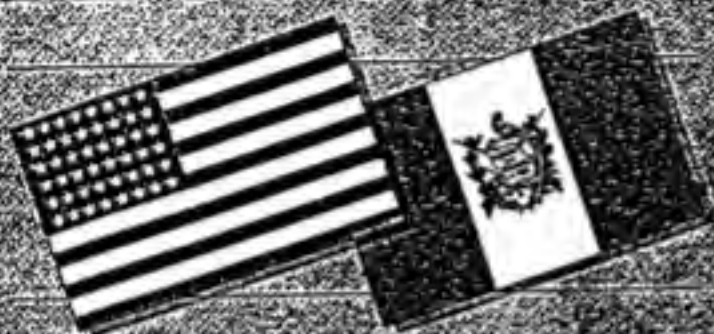
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Foreword

This work offers a fast-moving narrative account of CIA's Operation PBSUCCESS, which supported the 1954 *coup d'état* in Guatemala. This early CIA covert action operation delighted both President Eisenhower and the Dulles brothers by ousting President Arbenz and installing Colonel Castillo Armas in his place. In light of Guatemala's unstable and often violent history since the fall of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán in 1954, we are perhaps less certain today than most Americans were at the time that this operation was a Cold War victory.

It is tempting to find lessons in history, and Allen Dulles's CIA concluded that the apparent triumph in Guatemala, in spite of a long series of blunders in both planning and execution, made PBSUCCESS a sound model for future operations. A major hazard in extracting lessons from history, however, is that such lessons often prove illusory or simply wrong when applied in new and different circumstances. Nick Cullather's study of PBSUCCESS reveals both why CIA thought PBSUCCESS had been a model operation, and why this model later failed so disastrously as a guide for an ambitious attempt to overthrow Fidel Castro at the Bay of Pigs in 1961.

Nick Cullather joined CIA and the History Staff in July 1992, soon after completing his Ph.D. at the University of Virginia. He is the author of *Illusions of Influence: The Political Economy of United States-Philippines Relations, 1942-1960*, which Stanford University Press will publish this year. In July 1993 he left CIA to take an appointment as assistant professor of diplomatic history at Indiana University. This publication is evidence of his impressive historical gifts and of the highly productive year he spent with us.

Finally, I should note that, while this is an official publication of the CIA History Staff, the views expressed—as in all of our works—are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the Central Intelligence Agency.

J. Kenneth McDonald
Chief Historian

Chapter 1-

America's Backyard

They would have overthrown us even if we had grown no bananas.
Manuel Fortuny¹

The CIA's operation to overthrow the Government of Guatemala in 1954 marked an early zenith in the Agency's long record of covert action. Following closely on successful operations that installed the Shah as ruler of Iran [the Guatemala operation, known as PBSUCCESS, was both more ambitious and more thoroughly successful than either precedent. Rather than helping a prominent contender gain power with a few inducements, PBSUCCESS used an intensive paramilitary and psychological campaign to replace a popular, elected government with a political nonentity. In method, scale, and conception it had no antecedent, and its triumph confirmed the belief of many in the Eisenhower administration that covert operations offered a safe, inexpensive substitute for armed force in resisting Communist inroads in the Third World. This and other "lessons" of PBSUCCESS lulled Agency and administration officials into a complacency that proved fatal at the Bay of Pigs seven years later.

Scholars have criticized the Agency for failing to recognize the unique circumstances that led to success in Guatemala and failing to adapt to different conditions in Cuba. Students of the 1954 coup also question the nature of the "success" in Guatemala. The overthrown Arbenz government was not, many contend, a Communist regime but a reformist government that offered perhaps the last chance for progressive, democratic change in the region. Some accuse the Eisenhower administration and the Agency of acting at the behest of self-interested American investors, particularly the United Fruit Company. Others argue that anti-Communist paranoia and not economic interest dictated policy, but with equally regrettable results.²

¹Quoted in Piero Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 7.

²The principal books on the Guatemalan Revolution of 1954 are Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1982); Richard Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala: The Foreign Policy of Intervention* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982); and Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*.

CIA records can answer these questions only indirectly. They cannot document the intentions of Guatemalan leaders, but only how Agency analysts perceived them. CIA officials participated in the process that led to the approval of PBSUCCESS, but as their papers show, they often had little understanding of or interest in the motives of those in the Department of State, the Pentagon, and the White House who made the final decision. Agency records, however, do document the conduct of the operation, the [] how Agency operatives construed the problem, what methods and objectives they pursued, and what aspects of the operations they believed led to success. They permit speculation on [] whether misperceptions about PBSUCCESS led overconfident operatives to plan the Bay of Pigs. Chiefly, however, they offer a view other historical accounts lack—the view from inside the CIA.

Agency officials had only a dim idea of what had occurred in Guatemala before Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán came to power in 1950. Historians regard the events of the 1940s and 1950s as following a centuries-old cycle of progressive change and conservative reaction, but officers in the Directorate of Plans believed they were witnessing something new. For the first time, Communists had targeted a country "in America's backyard" for subversion and transformation into a "denied area." When comparing what they saw to past experience, they were more apt to draw parallels to Korea, Russia, or Eastern Europe than to Central America. They saw events not in a Guatemalan context but as part of a global pattern of Communist activity. PBSUCCESS, nonetheless, interrupted a revolutionary process that had been in motion for over a decade, and the actions of Guatemalan officials can only be understood in the context of the history of the region.

The Revolution of 1944

Once the center of Mayan civilization, Guatemala had been reduced by centuries of Spanish rule to an impoverished outback when, at the turn of the 20th century, a coffee boom drew investors, marketers, and railroad builders to the tiny Caribbean nation. The descendants of Spanish colonizers planted coffee on large estates, *fincas*, worked by Indian laborers. Coffee linked Guatemala to a world market in which Latin American, African, and Indonesian producers competed to supply buyers in Europe and the United States with low-priced beans. Success depended on the availability of low-paid or unpaid labor, and after 1900 Guatemala's rulers structured society to secure *finqueros* a cheap supply of Indian workers. The Army enforced vagrancy laws, debt bondage, and other forms of involuntary servitude and became the guarantor of social peace. To maintain

the uneasy truce between the Indian majority and the Spanish-speaking *ladino* shopkeepers, labor contractors, and landlords, soldiers garrisoned towns in the populous regions on the Pacific coast and along the rail line between Guatemala City and the Atlantic port of Puerto Barrios.¹

When the coffee market collapsed in 1930, *ladinos* needed a strong leader to prevent restive, unemployed laborers from gaining an upper hand, and they chose a ruthless, efficient provincial governor, Jorge Ubico, to lead the country. Ubico suppressed dissent, legalized the killing of Indians by landlords, enlarged the Army, and organized a personal gestapo. Generals presided over provincial governments; officers staffed state farms, factories, and schools. The Guatemalan Army's social structure resembled that of the *finca*. Eight hundred *ladino* officers lorded over five thousand Indian soldiers who slept on the ground, wore ragged uniforms, seldom received pay, and were whipped or shot for small infractions. Urban shopkeepers and rural landlords tolerated the regime out of fear of both Ubico and the Indian masses.²

Ubico regarded the *ladino* elite with contempt, reserving his admiration for American investors who found in Guatemala a congenial business climate. He welcomed W. R. Grace and Company, Pan American Airways, and other firms, making Guatemala the principal Central American destination for United States trade and capital. The Boston-based United Fruit Company became one of his closest allies. Its huge banana estates at Tiquisate and Bananera occupied hundreds of square miles and employed as many as 40,000 Guatemalans. These lands were a gift from Ubico, who allowed the company a free hand on its property. United Fruit responded by pouring investment into the country, buying controlling shares of the railroad, electric utility, and telegraph. It administered the nation's only port and controlled passenger and freight lines. With interests in every significant enterprise, it earned its sobriquet, *El Pulpo*, the Octopus. Company



Wide World (AP) ©

President Jorge Ubico

¹Jim Handy, "'A Sea of Indians': Ethnic Conflict and the Guatemalan Revolution," *The Americas* 46 (October 1989): 190-192.

²Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 11-19.

executives could determine prices, taxes, and the treatment of workers without interference from the government. The United States Embassy approved and until the regime's final years gave Ubico unstinting support.³

As World War II drew to a close, dictators who ruled Central America through the Depression years fell on hard times, and authoritarian regimes in Venezuela, Cuba, and El Salvador yielded to popular pressure. Inspired by their neighbors' success, Guatemalan university students and teachers resisted military drills they were required to perform by the Army. Unrest spread, and, in June 1944, the government was beset by petitions, public demonstrations, and strikes. When a soldier killed a young schoolteacher, a general strike paralyzed the country, and the aged, ailing dictator surrendered power to his generals. Teachers continued to agitate for elections, and in October younger officers led by Capt. Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán and Maj. Francisco Arana deposed the junta. The officers stepped aside to allow the election of a civilian president, a sacrifice that earned popular acclaim for both them and the Army. The Revolution of 1944 culminated in December with the election of a university professor, Juan José Arévalo, as President of Guatemala.⁴

Arévalo's regime allowed substantially greater freedoms, but remained essentially conservative. Political parties proliferated, but most were controlled by the ruling coalition party, the Partido Acción Revolucionaria (PAR). Unions organized teachers, railroad workers, and the few factory workers, but national laws restricted the right to strike and to organize *campesinos*, farm laborers and tenants. The Army remained in control of much of the administration, the schools, and the national radio. Modest reforms satisfied Guatemalans, and the revolutionary regime was highly popular. Most expected one of the revolution's military heroes, Arbenz or Arana, to succeed Arévalo in 1951.⁵

So sure was Arana of taking power that he laid plans to hasten the process. In July 1949, with the backing of conservative *finqueros*, he presented Arévalo an ultimatum demanding that he surrender power to the Army and fill out the remainder of his term as a civilian figurehead for a military regime. The President asked for time, and along with Arbenz and a few loyal officers tried to have Arana arrested on a remote *finca*. Caught alone crossing a bridge, Arana resisted and was killed in a gunfight. When news reached the capital, Aranista officers rebelled, but labor unions and loyal Army units defended the government and quashed the uprising. In a move they later regretted, Arbenz and Arévalo hid the truth about Arana's death, claiming it was the work of unknown assassins. Arbenz had saved democracy a second time, and his election to the presidency was ensured, but rumors of his role in the killing led conservative Guatemalans, and eventually the CIA, to conclude that his rise to power marked the success of a conspiracy.⁶

³*Ibid.*, pp. 21-22; Immerman, *CIA in Guatemala*, p. 83.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 38-49.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 31-49; Immerman, *CIA in Guatemala*, pp. 48-57.

⁶Gleijeses, "The Death of Francisco Arana," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 22 (October 1990): 527-551.

After the July uprising, Arbenz and Arévalo purged the military of *Aranista* officers and placed it under loyal commanders who enjoyed, according to the US Embassy, "an unusual reputation for incorruptibility." Unions enthusiastically supported Arbenz's candidacy, expecting him to be more progressive than Arévalo. The candidate of the right, Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes, lagged behind in the polls, and Arbenz would win in a landslide. Rightists made a final bid to usurp power in the days before the election. Along with a few followers, a purged *Aranista* lieutenant, Carlos Castillo Armas, mounted a quixotic attack on a military base in Guatemala City. He believed Army officers,



Wide World (AP) ©

President Juan José Arévalo

inspired by the spectacle of his bravery, would overthrow the government and install him as president. Instead, they threw him in jail."

Castillo Armas came to the attention of the Agency [] in January of 1950, when he was planning his raid. A protégé of Arana's, he had risen fast in the military, joining the general staff and becoming director of the military academy until early 1949, when he was assigned to command the remote garrison of Mazatenango. He was there when his patron was assassinated on 18 July, but he did not hear of the *Aranista* revolt until four days later when he received orders relieving him of his post. Arbenz had him arrested in August and held on a trumped-up charge until December. When a CIA agent interviewed him a month later, he was trying to obtain arms from Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza and Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo. The interviewer described him as "a quiet, soft-spoken officer who does not seem to be given to exaggeration." He claimed to have the support of the Guardia Civil, the Quezaltenango garrison, and the commander of the capital's largest fortress, Matamoros. He met with a CIA informer in August and again in November, just a few days before he and a handful of adventurers mounted a futile assault on Matamoros. A year later, Castillo Armas bribed his way out of prison and fled to Honduras where he thrilled rightist exiles with stories of his rebellion and escape. He planned another uprising, telling supporters he had secret backers in the Army. This was delusion. After the

⁹Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 81-83.



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Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, a leader of the 1944 revolution, became president in 1951 and implemented a land reform program that radicalized Guatemalan politics.

July uprising. Arbenz was the Army's undisputed leader, and he took steps to keep it that way.¹⁰

Partisan and union activity had grown amid the freedom of the Arévalo years, creating new political formations that later affected the Arbenz regime. The PAR remained the ruling party, but rival parties were tolerated. The federation of labor unions, the Confederación General de Trabajadores de Guatemala (CGTG), headed by Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, claimed some 90,000 members. An infant union of *campesinos* led by Leonardo Castillo Flores, the Confederación Nacional Campesina de Guatemala (CNCG), began shortly after the July uprising to form chapters in the countryside. Toward the end of Arévalo's term, Communist activity came into the open. Exiled Salvadoran Communists had opened a labor school, the Escuela Claridad, in 1947 and though harassed by Arévalo's police, gathered a few influential converts, among them Gutiérrez and a onetime president of the PAR, José Manuel Fortuny. In 1948, Fortuny and a few sympathizers attempted to lead the PAR toward more radical positions, but a centrist majority defeated them. Shortly before Arbenz took office, they resigned from the PAR, announcing plans to form "a vanguard party, a party of the proletariat based on Marxism-Leninism." They called it the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (PGT).¹¹

American Apprehensions

United States officials' concern about Communism in Guatemala grew as Cold War tensions increased. Preoccupied by events in Europe and Asia, Truman paid scant attention to the Caribbean in his first years in office. The State Department welcomed the demise of dictatorships and found the new Guatemalan Government willing to cooperate on military aid programs and the Pan-American Highway. The FBI gathered dossiers on Fortuny and Gutiérrez in 1946 but found little of interest. Officers from the newly created Central Intelligence Group arrived in March 1947 to take over the FBI's job of monitoring Perónist and Communist activities, but Guatemala remained a low priority. [

] The Berlin crisis, the fall of China, and the Soviet acquisition of nuclear weapons in 1948 and 1949 made Agency and State Department officials apprehensive about Soviet designs on the Western Hemisphere. They reevaluated Arévalo's government and found disturbing evidence of

¹⁰[] "Col. Carlos Castillo Armas in Initial Stage of Organizing Armed Coup Against Guatemalan Government," 19 January 1950, Job 80R-01731R, Box 38; [] "Plans of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas for Armed Revolt Against the Government," 24 August 1950, Job 80R-01731R, Box 38; [] "Plans of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas to Overthrow Guatemalan Government," 3 November 1950, Job 80R-01731R, Box 38; Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 219-220.
¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 76-78.

Communist penetration. Guatemala's relative openness made it a haven for Communists and leftists from Latin America and the Caribbean.¹³ The number of homegrown Communists remained small, but they held influential positions in the labor movement and the PAR. The State Department complained, listing the names of persons to be watched and removed from high positions, but Arévalo refused to act, revealing a defiance Embassy officials found inappropriate in a Latin leader. "We would have been concerned with any tendency toward excessive nationalism in Guatemala," department officials told the NSC, "but we are the more deeply concerned because the Communists have been able to distort this spirit to serve their own ends." They saw other signs that Arévalo's nationalism had grown excessive in his treatment of American companies, particularly United Fruit.¹⁴

United Fruit executives regarded any trespass on the prerogatives they enjoyed under Ubico as an assault on free enterprise. The company continued to report only a fraction of the value of its land and exports for tax purposes and initially found Arévalo cooperative and respectful. But United Fruit soon grew concerned about the new government's sympathy for labor. In 1947, Arévalo passed a labor code giving industrial workers the right to organize and classifying estates employing 500 or more as industries. The law affected many of the larger *fincas* as well as state farms, but United Fruit contended—and the Embassy agreed—that the law targeted the company in a discriminatory manner. Workers at Bananera and Tiquisate struck, demanding higher wages and better treatment. The company had never asked for or needed official support from the United States before, but now it sought to enlist the Embassy and the State Department to do its negotiating.¹⁵

The State Department placed the Embassy at the service of the company. "If the Guatemalans want to handle a Guatemalan company roughly that is none of our business," the first secretary explained, "but if they handle an American company roughly it is our business." When Embassy pressure proved insufficient, the company found lobbyists who could take its case to the Truman administration. Edward L. Bernays, the "father of modern public relations," [] directed a campaign to persuade Congress and administration officials that attacks on the company were proof of Communist complicity. "Whenever you read 'United Fruit' in Communist propaganda," United Fruit's public relations

¹³As J. C. King later explained, "Generally speaking, when a Communist in a Central American country gets into difficulties at home, he can find refuge, a well-paid job, and often a public post of major responsibility in Guatemala." King to Allen Dulles, "Background Information on Guatemala," Job 78-01228A, Box 13.

¹⁴Department of State, "Guatemala," 2 May 1951, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1951, 2: 1415-1426.

¹⁵Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 91-94. United Fruit customarily underreported its production by 700 percent of value. The company appraised its Tiquisate land at \$19 million, but its assessed value for tax purposes was just over \$1 million.

director told audiences, "you may readily substitute 'United States.'" Thomas G. Corcoran was the company's main conduit to the sources of power. Described by *Fortune* as a "purveyor of concentrated influence," Corcoran had a network of well-placed friends in business and government. [



Wide World (AP) ©

Thomas G. Corcoran, a "purveyor of concentrated influence." [

]calming bureaucratic worries when an occasional regulator found peculiarities in the airline's activities. United Fruit officials were impressed by his quick grasp of the situation. "Your problem is not with bananas," he told them. "You've got to handle your political problem."

]arranged for former DCI Walter Bedell Smith to join the company's board of directors.

Corcoran met in May 1950 with the head of the State Department's office on Central America, Thomas C. Mann, to discuss ways to secure the election of a centrist candidate. Mann considered special action unnecessary. His colleagues saw Arbenz as conservative, "an opportunist" concerned primarily with his own interests. They expected him to "steer more nearly a middle course" because his country's economic and military dependence on the United States required it. His ties to the military augured well. The Army received weapons and training from the United States, and although Embassy officials had only vague notions of its internal politics, they considered it free of Communist influence. The department had a low opinion of Arévalo's policies, but in 1950 it watched

"Jim Handy, 'The Most Precious Fruit of the Revolution': The Guatemalan Agrarian Reform, 1952-54," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68 (1988): 699; Thomas P. McCann, *An American Company* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1976), pp. 50-54; Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit*, pp. 91-93. [

]to Allen Dulles, "Current US position with regard to government loan requested by Guatemala," 22 October 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

for signs of improvement in the new administration.¹³ Corcoran searched for other officials who might be more sympathetic—meeting with the Agency's Deputy Director, Allen Dulles, on 9 May—but without approval from State, CIA evinced little interest.¹⁴

Despite Dulles's procedural correctness, Agency officials were, in fact, more apprehensive about Guatemala than their counterparts at State. Officials in the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) grew concerned in August 1950 about "the rapid growth of Communist activity in Guatemala and the probability that Guatemala may become a central point for the dissemination of anti-US propaganda." Technically part of CIA, OPC operated under the direction of Frank Wisner, who reported to the Secretary of State. The office had undertaken covert propaganda and antisubversive operations in Europe in 1948 and later expanded its operations to include Latin America and Asia. []

of OPC's Latin America Division included Guatemala in [] a program to counter propaganda and subversion in areas where Communist agents might strike in wartime. They received authorization to send an agent to enroll in Guatemala City's Instituto de Anthrópologia y Historia where he would try to find "suitable indigenous Guatemalan personnel" to carry out projects devised by LA Division. [] was a global program that included [] and Alaska. While Guatemala's inclusion indicated heightened interest in the potential for subversion there, it did not mark the beginning of a sustained effort to deal with it by covert means. The project had a budget of only \$6,000 and it produced few results.¹⁵

Even without official help, United Fruit could put Guatemala's feet to the fire. Bernays laid down a PR barrage that sent correspondents from *Time*, *Newsweek*, the *New York Times*, and *Chicago Tribune* to report on Communist activities in Guatemala. Company officials encouraged Castillo Armas with money and arms, and the rebel leader began seeking support from Central American leaders and the United States. A CIA official interviewed him in Mexico City in early 1950 and judged his expectation of Army support fanciful, but admitted that "if any man in Guatemala can lead a successful revolt against the present regime, it will be he who will do it." United Fruit threatened Guatemalan unions and the government, warning that any increase in labor costs would cause it to withdraw from the country. When a hurricane flattened part of the Tiquisate plantation in September 1951, the company suspended 4,000 workers without pay and

¹³State Department, "Guatemala," 2 May 1951, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1951*, 2: 1489.

¹⁴[]
¹⁵[] "Project Outline [] Guatemala," 23 August 1950, Job 78-865 (DO), Box 1. [] went to Guatemala City in November 1951.

announced it would not reopen until it completed a study of the business climate. Courts ordered the workers reinstated, but Walter Turnbull, the company vice president, ignored the order and presented Arbenz with an ultimatum. Unless the government guaranteed no wage increases for three years and exempted the company from the labor code, United Fruit would halt operations. To prove his earnestness, he suspended passenger shipping to the United States.²⁰

The administration's concern about the Arbenz regime had increased in mid-1951, and there is evidence that the Truman administration encouraged the company to take a hard line. United Fruit's vast holdings and monopolies on communications and transit in Central America attracted the attention of lawyers in the Justice Department's antitrust division as early as 1919. In May 1951, they were preparing for court action to force United Fruit to divest itself of railroads and utilities in Guatemala when the State Department intervened. In a National Security Council session, Department representatives argued that a legal attack on United Fruit's Guatemalan holdings would have "serious foreign policy implications," weakening the company at a time when the United States needed it. The action was suspended until the situation in Guatemala had improved. It is often asserted that the United States acted at the company's behest in Guatemala, but this incident suggests the opposite may have been true: the administration wanted to use United Fruit to contain Communism in the hemisphere.²¹

The State Department remained ambivalent about how far it should go in putting pressure on Guatemala. In June 1951, three months into Arbenz's term, the Department had seen no improvement. The President showed few indications of extremism in matters of policy, but he appointed several leftists to key positions. The state newspaper and radio criticized United States involvement in Korea and ran stories copied from Czech newspapers. American companies got little help from the government in dealing with labor. The "ascending curve of Communist influence" had not leveled off under Arbenz, but tilted more steeply upward.²²

Department officials were increasingly concerned, but they wanted to avoid big stick tactics that could prove counterproductive. Guatemala might obstruct United States military and development programs in the area or charge the United States with violating the Non-Intervention Agreement, an accusation that would arouse sympathy throughout Latin America. The Department decided to discourage loans and drag its feet on aid and construction programs for Guatemala, steps it considered subtle but

²⁰[] "Guatemala," 13 January 1950. Job 80R01731R, Box 17, Folder 688; [] "Plans of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas for Armed Revolt Against the Government," 23 August 1950, *ibid.*: NIE 62, "Present Political Situation in Guatemala and Possible Developments During 1952," *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954*, 4: 1035-1036.

²¹Memorandum of Conversation, "Possible anti-trust suit by the Department of Justice Against the United Fruit Company," 22 May 1953, Records of the Office of Middle American Affairs, Lot 58D78, NARA, RG 59, Box 3.

²²Notes of the Under Secretary's Meeting, 15 June 1951, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1951*, 2: 1440-1442.

unmistakable signs of Washington's displeasure. If Arbenz were an opportunist, such moves might have induced cooperation, but the department's analysts misjudged the new President. Twice he had risked his life and career for democracy. His plans for development and agricultural reform were modest, but he was determined to carry them out. Stiffening resistance from the United States and United Fruit led him to reassess his assumptions, adopt a more radical program, and find friends who shared his new opinions.

Arbenz, the PGT, and Land Reform

Agency reports described Arbenz as "brilliant, . . . cultured." The son of a Swiss pharmacist and a *ladino* woman, he planned a career as a scientist or engineer before his father's suicide impoverished the family and left him no alternative apart from the military academy. His intelligence and personal magnetism earned him the admiration of cadets and teachers alike, and he rose quickly to high rank in the officer corps. At 26 he married María Villanova, an American-educated Salvadoran from a prominent landed family. The intellectual, socially concerned couple studied and discussed Guatemala's chronic economic and social problems, and in 1944 they joined the Revolution on the side of the teachers. As Defense Minister under Arévalo, Arbenz advocated progressive reforms, unionization, and forced rental of unused land. He and María became friends with the reformers, labor organizers, and officers who made up the intellectual elite of Guatemala City. Arbenz remained close with friends from the academy, Alfonso Martínez and Carlos Enrique Díaz, and increasingly associated with members of the PGT, Carlos Pellecer, Gutiérrez, and Fortuny. He had particular regard for the latter, whose intellect and wit he put to work in the election campaign of 1950, writing speeches and slogans.²³

The PGT contributed little to Arbenz's victory in 1950, but it gained influence under the new regime. Total party membership never exceeded 4,000 in a nation of almost three million, a fact reflected in the party's weakness at the polls. Only four Communists held seats in the 61-member congress, a body dominated by moderates. Arbenz did not appoint any Communists to the Cabinet, and only six or seven held significant sub-Cabinet posts. Those few, however, occupied positions that made them highly visible to United States officials, controlling the state radio and newspaper and holding high posts in the agrarian department and the social security administration. The party's principal influence came from Fortuny's friendship with the President. Arbenz's coalition disintegrated after election day into disputatious factions that offered no help amid the struggles with United Fruit and increasing tensions with the United States.

²³Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 134-142.

The President admired the undemanding, socially concerned members of the PGT and relied increasingly on Fortuny's political skill. Their relationship grew closer as the two men worked toward a common goal—land reform. At Arbenz's direction, Fortuny, Pellecer, and Gutiérrez drafted a proposal in 1951 for a major restructuring of property ownership in Guatemala. The PGT leadership's close ties to the President gave the party influence in Guatemala entirely out of proportion to its electoral strength. The land reform initiative enhanced that influence and drew the President even closer to Fortuny.²⁴



Wide World (AP) ©

José Manuel Fortuny, leader of the PGT and a close friend of Arbenz

Arbenz's attempt at land reform established his regime's radical credentials in the eyes of domestic and foreign opponents. Unable to obtain funding from the United States or the World Bank, he hesitated for a year, then on 17 June 1952 released Decree 900, an ambitious program to remake rural Guatemala. US aid officials considered it moderate, "constructive and democratic in its aims," similar to agrarian programs the United States was sponsoring in Japan and Formosa. It expropriated idle land on private and government estates and redistributed it in plots of 8 to 33 acres to peasants who would pay the government 3 to 5 percent of the assessed value annually. The government compensated the previous owners with 3 percent bonds maturing in 25 years. The proposal aimed not to create Stalinist collectives but a rural yeomanry free of the tyranny of the *fincas*. For Central America it was a radical plan, and Guatemalan landowners joined Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza in denouncing it. Conservatives feared the program would release the Indians' suppressed hunger for land, with unpredictable consequences for *ladinos*. Historians have recently described Decree 900 as a moderate, capitalist reform, but in 1952 few local observers saw it as

²⁴Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit*, p. 59; Memorandum of Conversation, Dr. Robert Alexander and Mr. William L. Krieg, 1 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 99; Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 145-147.

anything other than an attack on the wealth and power of Guatemala's propertied elite, and by example, on the social order of the region.²⁵

The reform intensified conflict between the regime and United Fruit, drawing the United States into confrontation with Arbenz. The company's plantations contained huge tracts of idle land valued on the tax rolls at a fraction of their actual worth. In December 1952, workers at Tiquisate filed for expropriation of 55,000 acres. Other claims followed, and in February 1953 the government confiscated a quarter of a million acres of company land appraised at just over \$1 million. United Fruit claimed the actual value was near \$20 million. The company and the US Embassy charged the government with discrimination, and the State Department pressed Guatemala to submit the matter to arbitration. The Department was concerned about more than the company. Officials saw Decree 900 as a potential opening for the radicalization of Guatemala. Communists would use land redistribution "to mobilize the hitherto inert mass of rural workers," destroy the political effectiveness of large landholders, and spread disorder throughout the countryside. The Department discerned that the law had originated in the PGT and had "strong political motivation and significance."²⁶

Land reform stirred up conflict within Guatemala as well. Within weeks of passage, peasants organized to seize land on idle estates. Vagueness in the law and poor enforcement led to illegal seizures, conflicts with landlords, and fighting between rival peasant claimants. Pellecer, the PGT's peasant organizer, encouraged tenants to take land by force. *Finqueros* organized to resist and brought suit against the government. In February 1953 as disorder reigned in the countryside, entrenched landed interests and peasant unions waged a bureaucratic duel in the capital. Acting on the landlords' suit, the Supreme Court declared Decree 900 unconstitutional and ordered a halt to expropriations. Arbenz fired the justices, and after 39 hours of debate, Congress upheld the President. Peasant leaders claimed victory. "One can live without tribunals," Gutiérrez declared, "but one can't live without land." The decisive shift of power to Arbenz and *campesino* unions aroused the animosity of powerful groups. Left without recourse, landowners struck directly at peasant organizations, shooting, hanging, or beating suspected agitators. Leaders of the Catholic Church criticized the disruption of the social order. The Army felt threatened by rural unrest and peasant organizers who petitioned for the removal of uncooperative local commanders. The opposition remained leaderless and divided, but escalating conflict over land reform left the populace exhausted and bitter.²⁷

²⁵Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, pp. 64-67; Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 149-164; Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit*, pp. 54-56; Handy, "Most Precious Fruit," pp. 683-686.

²⁶Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, p. 164; NIE 84, "Probable Developments in Guatemala," 19 May 1953, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954*, 4: 1064, 1070.

²⁷Handy, "Most Precious Fruit," pp. 687-703.

The Agency Assessment

Even before implementation of land reform, the CIA saw Guatemala as a threat sufficient to warrant action. In early 1952, analysts found that increasing Communist influence made the Arbenz government "a potential threat to US security." The failure of sanctions to produce improvement in the Arbenz government disturbed State Department officials, who began to contemplate sterner action. Agency officials had stronger views. They saw a determined Communist effort to neutralize Guatemala and remove it from the Western camp. They regarded sanctions as insufficient, possibly counterproductive, and saw direct, covert action as the only remedy to Communist takeover.²⁸

Agency analysts saw no immediate danger of a Communist seizure of power in 1952, but regarded the PGT as enjoying substantial and increasing influence. The party had fewer than 200 active members and had failed to infiltrate the Army, railroad and teachers' unions, and student organizations. Analysts saw the party as disciplined and in "open communication with international communism." It would seek to increase its control through the "coordinated activity of individual Communists," and by using the state media to appropriate the slogans and aims of the 1944 Revolution. It had powerful opponents—the Army, United Fruit, large landholders, the Church—but anti-Communists had failed to coalesce into a united opposition. Analysts predicted the PGT would be able to keep its opponents divided and stigmatized, gradually eroding the potential for effective anti-Communist action.²⁹

Neither the United States nor United Fruit, Agency officials agreed, could undermine Communist influence with diplomatic and economic pressure. If the company surrendered to Arbenz's demands, it would hand a victory to the PGT and the unions, who would then target other US interests. If the company left Guatemala, it would injure the economy, but not critically. Arbenz would recover and in the process strengthen his ties to unions and the PGT. Analysts held that the United States was trapped in a similar dilemma: economic and diplomatic sanctions would hurt the economy, but not enough to prevent Communists from exploiting the resulting disruption. State Department observers were less pessimistic, believing a crisis triggered by United Fruit's withdrawal or US pressure could induce Arbenz to align with the right. Pentagon officials sided with the Agency, and an NIE approved 11 March 1952 predicted a slow, inevitable deterioration of the situation in Guatemala.³⁰

²⁸NIE 62, "Present Political Situation in Guatemala and Possible Developments During 1952," 11 March 1952, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1942-1954*, 4: 1031.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 1033-1035.

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 1035-1036.

To CIA observers, land reform seemed a powerful weapon for the expansion of Communist influence. Decree 900 would weaken the power of conservative landowners while radicalizing the peasant majority and solidifying its support for Arbenz and the PGT activists who led groups of *campesinos* in land seizures. If land reform succeeded, thousands of small farmers would owe their land and livelihood to the influence of the PGT. Ironically, the CIA supported the objectives of the Guatemalan reform—the breakup of large estates into small freeholds—in some of its own programs. The Agency, worried that feudal agriculture would allow Communists in the Third World to ride to power on a wave of reform, had tried for some years to change traditional rural social structures that it considered vulnerable to subversion. [

] had supported a non-Communist farm cooperative movement [

] In 1952, the Directorate of Plans undertook a global program, [] to encourage small, independent landowners. In the [] the program organized 15,000 peasants into 75 study groups, each of which formed a credit union to help its members buy land.³¹ Just as Agency officials saw [] as a way to enlarge US influence, they regarded Decree 900 as a menacing instrument of Communist penetration. Control made all the difference.

Agency officials considered Guatemala a potential Soviet beachhead in the Western Hemisphere. In 1947 and 1948, the Truman administration developed a subtle understanding of the likely consequences of the Communist takeover of a government outside of the Eastern Bloc. Officials recognized that indigenous revolutionary parties received scant support and often had little contact with Moscow. Even so, they reasoned, Communist governments would likely take actions—such as closing bases or restricting trade—that would shift power away from the United States and toward the Soviet Union. By the onset of the Korean war this analysis lost nuance. Officials in the State Department, the CIA, and the Pentagon regarded all Communists as Soviet agents. John Peurifoy, who became Ambassador to Guatemala in 1953, expressed the consensus when he observed that “Communism is directed by the Kremlin all over the world, and anyone who thinks differently doesn’t know what he is talking about.”³² Agency officials assumed the existence of links between the PGT and Moscow. They scrutinized the travel records of Guatemalan officials for signs of enemy contact and attempted to uncover the workings of an imaginary courier network. These were not manifestations of McCarthyite paranoia but of a fear

³¹ See [] file, Job 79-01025A, Box 81.

³² House Select Committee on Communist Aggression, *Communist Aggression in Latin America*, 83rd Cong., 2d sess., 1954, p. 125.

shared by liberals and conservatives, academics, journalists, and government officials, that a Soviet conspiracy aimed to strike at America in its own backyard.²⁹

Agency analysts saw the Guatemalan threat as sufficiently grave by 1952 to warrant covert action. They began to look for State Department officials who shared their pessimism about overt remedies and to find assets in Central America around which to build a covert program. The Truman administration, however, remained divided over whether Arbenz posed a threat dire enough to warrant such strong action. In 1952 and 1953, indecision led to a fumbling paramilitary program that came close to destroying the anti-Communist movement in Guatemala.

The Agency and the Opposition

As Arbenz completed his land reform plans, the CIA began to explore the possibility of supporting his opponents. Agency officials believed that Guatemala was headed for eventual Communist takeover, and that the opportunity to act was rapidly passing. Without help, the Guatemalan opposition would remain divided and inert, enabling the PGT to consolidate its power. Early in 1952, [] the Director of Central Intelligence, Walter []

[] Smith asked the chief of the Western Hemisphere Division, J. C. King, to find out whether Guatemalan dissidents with help from Central American dictators could overthrow the Arbenz regime. King sent an agent to Guatemala City in March to search for an organized opposition and find out whether CIA could buy support, "particularly Army, Guardia Civil, and key government figures."³⁰ King had lived in Latin America in the 1930s []

[] In April 1952, State Department officials welcomed Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza to Washington on his first state visit. American officials had regarded Somoza as a pariah throughout the 1940s, but now the dictator received a state dinner and was escorted to meetings

²⁹Ronald Schneider searched PGT records seized by CIA in 1954 and found no evidence of funds transfers or correspondence with Moscow. Gleijeses, who examined the same records and interviewed former Agency and Communist officials, concludes that CIA and State Department fears about Soviet links were grossly exaggerated. The Soviets made one contact with the Arbenz government, an attempt to buy bananas. The deal fell through when the Guatemalans could not arrange transport without help from United Fruit Company. Ronald M. Schneider, *Communism in Guatemala, 1944-1954* (New York: Praeger, 1958), p. 41; Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 187-188.

³⁰J. C. King []

[] 22 March 1952, Job 79-01025A, Box 7. []

by Maj. Gen. Harry Vaughan, Truman's personal military adviser. Somoza told State Department officials that, if they provided arms, he and Castillo Armas would take care of Arbenz. At Vaughan's urging, Truman instructed DCI Smith to follow up. Smith dispatched [] a Spanish-speaking engineer who joined the Agency in 1951, to make contact with Castillo Armas and other dissidents in Honduras and Guatemala. [] arrived in Guatemala City on 16 June, the day before Arbenz enacted the agrarian reform. []

[] learned that Castillo Armas's rebels had financial backing from [] Somoza, and Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo and claimed support from Army units inside Guatemala. At the request of [] Castillo Armas produced a battle plan calling for invasions from Mexico, Honduras, and El Salvador. The incursions would be coordinated with internal uprisings led by []

[] The plotters needed money, arms, aircraft, and boats, but [] considered their plans serious and likely to proceed whether they received additional help or not.²⁷

Agency officials sought approval from the State Department before finishing plans to aid the rebels. King located arms and transport, and on 9 July, he gave Dulles a proposal for supplying [] and Castillo Armas with weapons and \$225,000. He recommended that Somoza and Honduran President Juan Manuel Gálvez be encouraged to furnish air support and other assistance. The proposal emphasized the Agency's minor role in the plot. The rebellion would proceed in any case, King warned, but without CIA help it might fail and lead to a crackdown that would eliminate anti-Communist resistance in Guatemala. Allen Dulles, the Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, met the following day with Thomas Mann of the State Department and the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Edward G. Miller, who told him they wanted a new government in Guatemala imposed by force if necessary, but avoided direct answers when Dulles asked if they wanted the CIA to take steps to bring about that outcome. Dulles accepted the officials' vagueness as implying approval, but Smith wanted firmer backing. The DCI contacted

²⁷Paul Coe Clark, *The United States and Somoza, 1933-1956: A Revisionist Look* (Westport: Praeger, 1992), pp. 187-188; [] to Dulles, "Conference with SEEK-FORD," 4 August 1952, Job 79-01025A, Box 69; []
 [] to Dulles, "Guatemalan Situation," 9 July 1952, Job 79-01025A, Box 69; J. L. King, memorandum of conversation with []
 [] 5 May 1952, Job 79-01025A, Box 69; [] to Dulles, "Conference with []" 4 August 1952, Job 79-01025A, Box 69. [] is sometimes referred to in the documents as [] Agency sources revealed Castillo Armas received \$136,000 in aid [] Contact Report 32, 1 December 1953, Job 79-01025A, Box 69.

Under Secretary of State David Bruce and got explicit approval before signing the order on 9 September 1952 to proceed with operation PBFORTUNE.³⁸

King proceeded with plans to supply arms to Castillo Armas. He acquired a shipment of contraband weapons confiscated by port authorities in New York: 250 rifles, 380 pistols, 64 machineguns, and 4,500 grenades. Repackaged as farm machinery, they were scheduled to leave New Orleans [] in early October. CIA officials encouraged Somoza and Uuavez to lend additional aid, but soon regretted doing so. Somoza spread word of the Agency's role in the rebellion among government officials in Central America, and the State Department learned that the operation's cover was blown. During a meeting with Miller in Panama, Somoza's son, Tacho, casually asked if the "machinery" was on its way. Other diplomats caught wind of the operation, and Secretary Dean Acheson summoned Smith on 8 October to call it off.³⁹

State Department officials had reason to hesitate. President Truman had announced in March that he would not seek another term of office, turning the last 10 months of his presidency into what Acheson called a "virtual interregnum."⁴⁰ Acheson feared a blown operation would destroy the remnants of the Good Neighbor policy carefully constructed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The United States had pledged not to intervene in the domestic affairs of any American state and had attempted to foster Pan-American unity throughout the 1940s. Truman wanted to build on these policies in order to shield the hemisphere from subversion and to marshal support for the United States' global policies in the United Nations. The 1947 Rio Pact created an Organization of American States (OAS) that recognized the obligation of each member to meet an armed attack on any other. With US support, the United Nations had given the OAS jurisdiction over disputes within the hemisphere. Latin American leaders cooperated with these initiatives and followed the United States' lead in the UN, but criticized the Truman administration for failing to support economic development. They also remained alert for signs of backsliding on the nonintervention pledge. The appearance that the United States was supporting the invasion of an OAS member state in retaliation for expropriating American property would set US policy back 20 years. Once PBFORTUNE was blown, Miller wasted no time in terminating it.⁴¹

³⁸ [] "Chronology of Meetings Leading to Approval of Project A," 8 October 1952, Job 79-01025A, Box 69; [] to [] "Guatemala," 8 October 1952, Job 79-01025A, Box 69; [] to Dulles, "Guatemalan Situation," 9 July 1952, Job 79-01025A, Box 69.

³⁹ Packing list, [undated], Job 79-01025A, Box 150; [] Memorandum for the Record, 9 October 1952, Job 79-01025A, Box 69; [] Memorandum for the Record, 10 October 1952, Job 79-01025A, Box 69.

⁴⁰ Douglas Brinkley, *Dean Acheson: The Cold War Years, 1953-71* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 6.

⁴¹ Immerman, *CIA in Guatemala*, pp. 11-12; Robert Ferrell, *American Diplomacy: A History*, 3rd Ed., (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1975), pp. 766-771.

PBFORTUNE's demise took the Agency by surprise, and Colonel King scrambled to salvage part of the operation and allow Castillo Armas to save face. He arranged for the arms shipment to proceed as far as [

] the Canal Zone and to remain there in case the project were revived. Castillo Armas was kept on a retainer of \$3,000 a week, allowing him to hang on to a small force. Through the winter of 1952-53, the operation led a twilight existence, neither dead nor alive. King remained in contact with Castillo Armas through [] and continued to finance the rebels as a precaution in case rebellion broke out in Guatemala.⁴²

Meanwhile, he began to test how far he could go without State Department approval. In November, he asked DCI Smith to allow him to build a pier at the arms storage site in Panama, buy a boat, and fly a portion of the arms to Managua "to test our ability to move supplies clandestinely by air." Smith approved the pier and the boat, but not the flight. On a slim budget, King tried to develop means to transport arms to sites in Nicaragua and Honduras, with nearly disastrous results. The aged World War II transport he acquired left port only twice. On the first trip, its crew reconnoitered a supposedly deserted island in Nicaragua for use as a supply drop, only to discover several hundred inhabitants and a suspicious policeman. On the second, the boat's four engines expired in high seas, and the US Navy had to send a destroyer to the rescue. In the end the boat was left to rust at its newly built pier.⁴³

Smith and King hoped that the new administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower would breathe new life into the project. Early signs indicated that the new President would be receptive to plans for covert operations. Eisenhower had promised during the campaign to retake the initiative in the Cold War while reducing Federal spending, goals that made covert action seem a likely recourse. On 5 March, the Assistant Secretary of State, John Cabot, asked Wisner about the possibility of stepping up psychological warfare against Arbenz, but other members of the Department hesitated.⁴⁴ Mann predicted that Guatemalan radicalism would soon be countered by a conservative reaction. If the United States allowed events to take their course, he said, "the pendulum in Guatemala would swing back." Paul Nitze, head of the Department's Policy Planning Staff, worried that Guatemalan Communism would be difficult to contain and

⁴²[] to King, "Arrangements to receive certain items in the Canal Zone," 10 October 1952, Job 79-01025A, Box 69; King to [] "Central American Situation," 10 October 1952, Job 79-01025A, Box 69.
⁴³King to Dulles, 20 October 1952, Job 79-01025A, Box 69; King to Smith, "PBFORTUNE," 25 November 1952, Job 79-01025A, Box 69. See also [] file, Job 79-01025A, Box 81.

⁴⁴[] Acting Chief, Western Hemisphere Division, to Wisner, "Conversation regarding Guatemala," 10 March 1953, Job 79-01228A, Box 13.

might spill over into neighboring states.⁴³ With no certain mandate, Smith and King worked to keep the Guatemala operation alive until the new administration decided what to do with it.

Despite [] prediction, Castillo Armas showed little inclination to launch his revolution without Agency support. King approved of his restraint. His greatest fear was that a rebellion would erupt before the Agency could lend it sufficient help. If the rebels failed, the Agency could lose its assets in Guatemala. Smith urged State Department officials to approve a covert aid program before there was no one left to aid. He stressed the imminence of revolt and the sympathy of Central American rulers for the rebel cause. He exaggerated only partly. Somoza and Castillo Armas had no immediate plans, but Guatemala was rife with talk of impending invasion. The meager amounts of aid funneled in by the Agency persuaded some rebels that they had powerful friends and led them to take precisely the kind of risk King wanted to avoid.

Failure at Salamá

King's fears were realized on 29 March 1953 when Carlos Simmons launched a futile attack on the garrison at Salamá and provoked a backlash that cost the Agency and Castillo Armas most of their usable assets in Guatemala. Two hundred raiders from nearby banana plantations seized the remote town of Salamá and held it for 17 hours [

] While the raid's planners escaped abroad, the rebels went to jail, and the Guatemalan Government launched a dragnet to round up other suspected subversives. The failed rebellion [] severely impaired Castillo Armas's potential. The latter's principal ally inside Guatemala was Córdova Cerna, leader of the most prominent anti-Communist organization, the Comité Cívico Nacional. Despite his ties to United Fruit, Córdova Cerna's reputation as a principled opponent of Ubico (he had resigned the justice ministry in protest) lent respectability to his resistance against Arbenz. After Salamá, police raids crushed his organization and he fled to Honduras, where he began intriguing to gain control of Castillo Armas's following. PBFORTUNE suffered a severe blow. The Agency lost all its assets inside the country and was left to deal with contentious and fragmented exile groups.⁴⁴

In the wake of Salamá, Agency analysts regarded Guatemalan developments with even deeper pessimism. Opposition within the country, according to an NIE of 19 May 1953, had been reduced to scattered "urban elements" who were unlikely to join United Fruit and landholders in a

⁴³Memorandum of Conversation, Thomas C. Mann, Paul H. Nitze, 3 March 1953, Job 79-01228A, Box 13.

⁴⁴Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit*, p. 103.

resistance movement. El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua wanted new leadership in Guatemala, but analysts considered outside intervention "highly unlikely." The "only organized element in Guatemala capable of decisively altering the political situation," the Army, showed no inclination toward revolutionary action. Arbenz still had the power to break free of Communist influence, but the trend seemed in the opposite direction. "As long as President Arbenz remains in power the Arbenz-Communist alliance will probably continue to dominate Guatemalan politics." "Any increase in political tension in Guatemala," the Estimate concluded, "would tend to increase Arbenz's political dependence on this alliance."⁴⁷

As the State Department's apprehensions grew during the summer of 1953, it became increasingly receptive to proposals for bold action against Arbenz. In May, the desk officer for Central America, John M. Leddy, noted that "the trend toward increased Communist strength is uninterrupted," and that Salamá had furnished a pretext for a thorough crackdown on the opposition. Three months later the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs painted a bleak picture for the National Security Council. The Communists were using land reform—a program "designed to produce social upheaval"—to gain control of Guatemalan politics. The situation was progressively deteriorating. "Communist strength grows, while opposition forces are disintegrating. . . . Ultimate Communist control of the country and elimination of American economic interests is the logical outcome, and unless the trend is reversed, is merely a question of time."⁴⁸

State Department analysts saw few good options. US military intervention or overt economic sanctions would violate treaty commitments and enrage other American republics. Covert intervention posed the same danger, if it were discovered. The policy of "firm persuasion" had produced few results so far, and there seemed little chance that continuing or escalating official pressure would help. "This situation," officials concluded, "tests our ability to combat the eruption and spread of Communist influence in Latin America without causing serious harm to our hemisphere relations." In the minds of Eisenhower's aides, Guatemala put the new administration on trial. It represented "in miniature all of the social cleavages, tensions, and dilemmas of modern Western society under attack by the Communist virus," explained a member of the NSC staff. "We should regard Guatemala as a prototype area for testing means and methods of combating Communism."⁴⁹

⁴⁷NIE 84, "Probable Developments in Guatemala," 19 May 1953, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954*, 4: 1061-1070.

⁴⁸Leddy to Cabot, "Relations with Guatemala," 21 May 1953, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954*, 4: 1071-1073; NSC Guatemala, 19 August 1953, *Ibid.*, 4: 1074-1086.

⁴⁹Leddy to Cabot, "Relations with Guatemala," 21 May 1953, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954*, 4: 1071-1073; NSC Guatemala, 19 August 1953, *Ibid.*, 4: 1074-1086.

The administration was ready to meet the challenge. In the summer of 1953, the new President encouraged his advisers to revise their strategies for fighting the Cold War. In a series of discussions, known as the Solarium talks, administration officials explored ways to fulfill Eisenhower's promises to seize the initiative in the global struggle against Communism while restraining the growth of the Federal budget. The result was NSC 162/2, a policy known to the public as the "New Look." It stressed the need for a cheaper, more effective military striking force that would rely more on mobility, nuclear intimidation, and allied armies. The new policy placed a greater emphasis on covert action. Eisenhower saw clandestine operations as an inexpensive alternative to military intervention. He believed that the Cold War was entering a period of protracted, low-level conflict. Relying too much on the military would exhaust the economy and leave the United States vulnerable. In his mind, finding creative responses to Communist penetration of peripheral areas like Guatemala posed one of the critical tests of his ability as a leader.³⁰

The new administration's Cabinet stood ready to put the "New Look" into effect. Eisenhower had elevated Allen Dulles to the directorship, placing the Agency under the charge of its chief covert operator. The new DCI's brother, John Foster Dulles, had become Secretary of State, a development that promised unprecedentedly smooth cooperation with the State Department, as did the appointment of Bedell Smith as Under Secretary of State. Under the new administration, key departments and agencies were headed by officials predisposed to seek active, covert remedies to the Guatemala problem.

By mid-1953, the administration stood poised to take action against Arbenz. Faltering policies late in the Truman administration—aggravated by the State Department's indecision and the Agency's poor security—accelerated the deterioration of the situation in Guatemala and left the United States with fewer options. Guatemala no longer had an organized opposition that could moderate Arbenz's behavior or offer the United States the possibility of peaceful change. American commercial interests, particularly United Fruit, intensified conflict between the United States and the Arbenz regime and precipitated the disaster at Salamá, but played only a contributing role in shaping policy. Truman and Eisenhower saw Guatemala as succumbing to Communist pressures emanating ultimately from Moscow. The threat to American business was a minor part of a larger danger to the United States' overall security. The failure of PBFORTUNE, in fact, led CIA officials to reconsider [

] in later ventures against Arbenz.

³⁰Leddy to Cabot, "Relations with Guatemala," 21 May 1953, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954*, 4: 1071-1073; NSC Guatemala, 19 August 1953, *Ibid.*, 4: 1074-1086.



Wide World (AP) ©

Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles (left), shared his brother's enthusiasm for covert action. Here the two brothers exchange ideas at Washington's National Airport.

Chapter 2

Reversing the Trend

A policy of non-action would be suicidal, since the Communist movement, under Moscow tutelage, will not falter nor abandon its goals.
National Security Council, 19 August 1953¹¹

Reviewing the situation in Guatemala on 12 August 1953, the staff of the National Security Council determined that the Arbenz government posed a threat to the national security sufficient to warrant covert action against it. Eisenhower's "New Look" policy and the success of TPAJAX, an operation that overthrew Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadeq of Iran, elevated the Agency's reputation to unprecedented heights, and the new administration gave CIA primary responsibility for the action while allowing it to call on other departments for support as needed. The Operations Coordinating Board cautioned against relying on [] noting that [] was "to be used only to the extent deemed desirable by CIA, and is to be kept informed on a strict need-to-know basis."¹² The plans CIA developed in the following weeks reflected the Agency's confidence in the tactics it had developed in the first six years of its existence. Despite the lack of hard information on Guatemalan politics and society, planners were sure Guatemalans would respond to stratagems proven in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. What made the new operation truly appealing was that covert action tactics would be applied on a grander scale, over a longer period, and for higher stakes than ever before.

J. C. King's Western Hemisphere Division staff began developing plans immediately after the NSC decision. The operation's optimistic title—PBSUCCESS—reflected the high hopes of its planners. []

[] Hans Tofte, and [] drafted an outline of the Guatemala operation during the dramatic denouement of TPAJAX. The covert operation shattered Mossadeq's Tudeh Party and gave the pro-American Shah unchallenged authority. The Iranian operation's chief officer found Secretary of State John Foster Dulles "almost alarmingly enthusiastic" about the outcome.¹³ The Eisenhower administration

¹¹Draft NSC Policy Paper, 19 August 1953, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954*, 4: 1083.

¹²[]
¹³Kermit Roosevelt, *Coups: The Struggle for Control of Iran* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), p. 209.

Operation PBSUCCESS

saw this success as proof that covert action could be a potent, flexible weapon in the Cold War. King's aides were anxious to prove it again in Guatemala. They brought considerable experience to the task. [] had been an intelligence officer in [] during the war and had joined the Agency as soon as it was established in 1947. He served as []

[] Tofte had fled his native Denmark in 1941 and joined the [] serving in Burma and China before quitting to join the OSS. Impressed by his credentials, William Donovan placed him in charge of an operation to resupply Yugoslav partisans from a secret base in []. He eventually came to command a force of over 600 guerrillas.²³ After the war he joined CIA and earned a reputation [] for mounting behind-the-lines operations. In 1953 he was a member of the Psychological and Paramilitary Operations Staff in the Directorate of Plans (DDP). [] who served with Army intelligence in Chile during the war and afterward as a US military adviser in Latin America, was chief of the DDP's Central America branch.²⁴

The Plan

The planners decided to employ simultaneously all of the tactics that had proved useful in previous covert operations. PBSUCCESS would combine psychological, economic, diplomatic, and paramilitary actions. Operations in Europe, [] and Iran had demonstrated the potency of propaganda—"psychological warfare"—aimed at discrediting an enemy and building support for allies. Like many Americans, US officials placed tremendous faith in the new science of advertising. Touted as the answer to underconsumption, economic recession, and social ills, advertising, many thought, could be used to cure Communism as well. In 1951, the Truman administration tripled the budget for propaganda and appointed a Psychological Strategy Board to coordinate activities.²⁵ The CIA required "psywar" training for new agents, who studied Paul Linebarger's text, *Psychological Warfare*, and grifter novels like *The Big Con* for disinformation tactics.²⁶ PBSUCCESS's designers planned to supplement overt

[]
²³William J. Donovan to Adjutant General, "Recommendation for Award of Legion of Merit to Major Hans V. Tofte," 19 September 1945, Job 57-102, Box 162.

²⁴Thomas Powers, *The Man Who Kept the Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), p. 323; [], Job 78-06607R, Box 2, Folder 7.

²⁵Ludwell Montague, *General Walter Bedell Smith as Director of Central Intelligence* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), pp. 203-215.

²⁶Paul Linebarger, *Psychological Warfare* (Washington: Infantry Journal Press, 1948). For details of Agency instruction in psywar, see Joseph Burkholder Smith, *Portrait of a Cold Warrior* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976), pp. 85-95.

diplomatic initiatives—such as an OAS conference convened to discredit Guatemala—with “black operations using contacts within the press, radio, church, army, and other organized elements susceptible to rumor, pamphleteering, poster campaigns, and other subversive action.”³⁹ They were particularly impressed with the potential for radio propaganda, which had turned the tide at a critical moment in the Iran operation.⁴⁰

The planners’ faith in radio as a propaganda weapon derived from their experience in other areas of the world, and it ignored local conditions that limited the strategy’s usefulness in Guatemala. Only one Guatemalan in 50 owned a radio, and the vast majority of the nation’s 71,000 sets were concentrated in the vicinity of the capital, in the homes and offices of the wealthy and professional classes. Agency analysts noted that “radio does not constitute an effective means of approach to the masses of agricultural workers and apparently reaches only a small number of urban workers.” Communist organizations eschewed radio and exercised influence through personal contact and persuasion. Radio, nonetheless, became a central feature of the operational plan. Although Guatemalans were “not habituated” to radio, an analyst observed, they “probably consider it an authoritative source, and they may give wide word-of-mouth circulation to interesting rumors” contained in broadcasts.

[] Tofte, and [] considered Guatemala’s economy vulnerable to economic pressure, and they planned to target oil supplies, shipping, and coffee exports. An “already cleared group of top-ranking American businessmen in New York City” would be assigned to put covert economic pressure on Guatemala by creating shortages of vital imports and cutting export earnings. The program would be supplemented by overt multilateral action, possibly by the OAS, against Guatemalan coffee exports. The planners believed economic pressures could be used surgically to “damage the Arbenz government and its supporters without seriously affecting anti-Communist elements.”⁴¹

Planners had only sketchy ideas about the potential of two crucial parts of the program: political and paramilitary action. King’s aides believed that to succeed the opposition would need to win over Army leaders and key government officials. They considered the Army “the only organized element in Guatemala capable of rapidly and decisively altering the political situation.” In Iran, cooperative army officers had tilted the political balance in favor of the Shah. Planners felt PBSUCCESS needed

³⁹King to Dulles, “Guatemala—General Plan of Action,” 11 September 1953, Job 83-00739R, Box 5.

⁴⁰Roosevelt, *Counteraction*, p. 191.

[]
⁴¹King to Dulles, “Guatemala—General Plan of Action,” 11 September 1953, Job 83-00739R, Box 5.

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similar support, but they had few ideas on how to foment opposition. Arbenz, a former officer, remained popular among military leaders. Castillo Armas had little appeal among his former colleagues, and his guerrillas were no match for the 5,000-man Army. Rebel forces suffered from desertion and low morale, and agents in Honduras reported that without help, the organized opposition would disintegrate by the end of 1953.⁴³

PBSUCCESS planners were disturbed by the shortage of assets around which to build a covert program. The Catholic Church opposed land reform and Arbenz, but was handicapped by its meager resources and the shortage of native priests. Foreigners were subject to deportation, and most priests avoided challenging authority. Resistance among landowners was declining "due to general discouragement" after the failure of the Salamá raid. The planners noted widespread discontent in both the capital and the countryside, but saw little prospect of stimulating disgruntled elements to take political action. The estimated 100,000 passive opponents included property owners, laborers, and *campesinos* who shared few common goals. Castillo Armas's organization, "a group of revolutionary activists, numbering a few hundred, led by an exiled Guatemalan army officer, and located in Honduras," remained the Agency's principal operational asset. In addition, some fifty Guatemalan students belonging to the Comité Estudiantes Universitarios Anti-Comunistas (CEUA) had [

]— The group published a newspaper, *El Rebelde*. Members who fled the country after Salamá formed an exile group and published a weekly paper, *El Combate*, which was smuggled over the border. These assets, the planners reported, did "not even remotely match the 1,500-3,000 trained Communists."⁴⁴

While TPAJAX achieved victory in less than six weeks, PBSUCCESS planners warned that Guatemala would require more effort and patience. The Agency would have to develop from scratch assets of the sort that it had used in Iran, a process that might take a year or more. [] foresaw a preparation period followed by a buildup of diplomatic and economic pressure on the Arbenz regime. When pressure reached its maximum point, political agitation, sabotage, and rumor campaigns would undermine the government and encourage active opposition. During this crisis, Castillo Armas would establish a revolutionary government and invade Guatemala. The plan was silent about what would happen next.⁴⁵

Trusting the Agency's proven tactics to generate results, planners saw no problem in their inability to predict how the operation would play out. Reviewing their work, Deputy Director for Plans Frank Wisner remarked

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴[] "Report on Stage One PBSUCCESS, Annex B, Friendly Assets and Potential," 13 December 1953, Job 79-01025A, Box 1.

⁴⁵King to Dulles, "Guatemala—General Plan of Action," 11 September 1953, Job 83-00739R, Box 5 (also in Job 81-00306R, Box 1).

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

that "the plan is stated in such broad terms that it is not possible to know exactly what it contemplates, particularly in the latter phases." He added that he did "not regard this as a particular drawback" since adjustments could be made as the operation unfolded. King expected a long assessment phase during which specific goals and plans would be set, with periodic reassessments throughout the life of the operation.⁴⁷

King and Tracy Barnes, Chief of the DDP's Political and Psychological Staff, presented the plan on 9 September to Raymond Leddy, head of the State Department's Office of Middle American Affairs, and James Lampton Berry, the Department's liaison to the Agency. Department officials had given up on the policy of gradually escalating pressure. Leddy admitted that "prospects do not appear very bright" adding that "some organizational work and some fundamental changes in the situation will have to occur" before a revolt could succeed. He and Berry reviewed King's plan in detail and agreed to go ahead.⁴⁸

PBSUCCESS relied on the State and Defense Departments to isolate Guatemala diplomatically, militarily, and economically. In King's plan, the State Department would mount a diplomatic offensive in the OAS to declare Guatemala a pariah state and cripple its economy. State and Defense would work together to enforce an arms embargo and build up the military potential of neighboring states. The US Navy and Air Force would provide essential logistical support, maintenance, expertise, and training for paramilitary forces. Overt initiatives would create an atmosphere of fearful expectancy, which would enhance the effectiveness of covert action. PBSUCCESS would be a governmentwide operation led by CIA.⁴⁹

On 9 December 1953, Allen Dulles authorized \$3 million for the project and placed Wisner in charge. Wisner's Directorate of Plans assumed exclusive control of PBSUCCESS, neither seeking nor receiving aid from other directorates. Robert Amory, Deputy Director for Intelligence (DDI) was never briefed, and Guatemala Station excluded references to PBSUCCESS in its reports to the DDI. The DDP carefully segregated the operation from its other activities, giving it a separate chain of command, communications facilities, logistics, and funds. Wisner ran the operation in Washington, with Tracy Barnes serving as a liaison to [] headquarters in Florida. King, who had nurtured the operation from its beginning, was pushed aside to give Wisner a free hand. "King was very upset," Richard Bissell, the Assistant DDP, recalled later. "PBSUCCESS became Wisner's project."⁵⁰

⁴⁷Wisner to Dulles, "Program for PBSUCCESS," 16 November 1953, Job 83-00739R, Box 5.

⁴⁸King to Dulles, "Guatemala—General Plan of Action," 11 September 1953, Job 83-00739R, Box 5; William L. Krieg to Raymond G. Leddy, 10 November 1953, Department of State Decentral Files [hereafter DSDF], 714, 00/11-1053, RG 59, US National Archives.

⁴⁹King to Dulles, "Guatemala—General Plan of Action," 11 September 1953, Job 83-00739R, Box 5.

⁵⁰Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 243-244.

The State Department fulfilled its assigned duties, increasing aid to industrial and road building projects in Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, and assembling a special team of diplomats to assist PBSUCCESS from Central American embassies.⁷¹ The group's leader, John Peurifoy, took over as Ambassador in Guatemala City in October 1953. He was in a familiar rôle. As Ambassador to Greece during its civil war, he coordinated State [] activities on behalf of the royalists. An admirer of Joseph McCarthy, he shared the Senator's taste in politics. Whiting Willauer and Thomas Whelan arrived at their ambassadorial posts in Honduras and Nicaragua in early 1954. Willauer also had a long association with CIA. As one of the founders of Civil Air Transport, he had arranged the airline's secret sale to the Agency in 1950.⁷² Whelan had developed strong ties to Somoza and was considered part of the team even without an intelligence background. The ambassadors reported to the CIA through former DCI Walter Bedell Smith, whom Eisenhower had appointed Under Secretary of State.⁷³

Meanwhile, [] established PBSUCCESS headquarters in a [] The [] offered facilities for offices, storage, and aircraft maintenance, and two days before Christmas, the operation moved [] Florida, under the cover name [] If asked, officers were to explain that they were part of a unit that did []. Code named LINCOLN, the headquarters soon became the center of feverish activity as over a hundred case officers and support personnel began the operation's assessment phase. [] under his new title, Special Deputy for PBSUCCESS, issued orders from a desk facing a 40-foot wall chart detailing the operation's phases and categories of action: political, paramilitary, psychological, logistics.⁷⁴

Gruff and s[] enjoyed the loyalty of his officers, who regarded him with a mixture of respect [] While most of the LINCOLN staff moved into new suburban tract houses in [] and enjoyed the recreational advantages of one of America's post-war boomtowns, [] spent long hours in [] and retired late in the evening to his room at the []. He planned the operation, guided it through its early stages, and managed its crises. While Wisner was officially in charge, his decisions consisted of selecting among alternatives developed by [] More than any other official, [] placed his personal stamp on PBSUCCESS.

⁷¹ Raymond G. Leddy to Ambassador Michael McDermott, 30 December 1953, Records of the Office of Middle American Affairs, Lot 57D95, RG 59, Box 5, US National Archives.

⁷² William M. Leary, *Perilous Missions: Civil Air Transport and CIA Covert Operations in Asia* (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1984), pp. 110-112.

⁷³ For a discussion of the ambassadorial team, see Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 289-292; and Immerman, *CIA in Guatemala*, pp. 140-141.

⁷⁴ Schlesinger and Kintner, *Bitter Fruit*, p. 113.

The Assessment

A shortage of reliable information, rivalries among Guatemalan oppositionists, and failures of security hampered [] initial efforts. Case officers participating in the assessment phase bemoaned the lack of intelligence on Guatemalan Government and society. [] was shocked to learn that Guatemala Station had "no penetrations of the PGT, government agencies, armed forces, or labor unions."⁷¹ Kermit Roosevelt, who directed TPAJAX had warned that if the Agency was "ever going to try something like this again, we must be absolutely sure that people and army want what we want."⁷² In Guatemala there was no way to tell. Without sources inside the PGT, [] could only speculate on its tactics and vulnerabilities, and PBSUCCESS planners increasingly fell back on analogies to other Communist parties and revolutions, particularly the Russian revolution, in analyzing enemy behavior.⁷³ But in its opening phases, the operation suffered more from the lack of information on its potential allies: the Army, regional leaders, and rebel factions.

Considering the Army critical to PBSUCCESS, [] needed to know the chances of a complete or partial defection by the officer corps, but he lacked sources. The US military advisory group in Guatemala, which had daily contact with officers, could come up with no information on the personalities and politics of its advisees.⁷⁴ The military appeared unshakably loyal to Arbenz, who rarely trespassed on its prestige or prerogatives. The elite Guardia Civil, passionately devoted to the President, included 2,500 of the country's best-trained and -equipped soldiers.⁷⁵ [] urged his officers to learn more, and in December, George Tranger, [] found a retired major, [] who claimed to know of a disgruntled faction in the officer corps.⁷⁶ By January, hopes settled on Col. Elfego Monzón, who purportedly talked of staging a mutiny and boasted of a wide following.⁷⁷ But since the Station had no source close to Monzón, [] could not determine how to proceed.

⁷¹ [] "Report on Stage One PBSUCCESS," 15 December 1953, Job 79-01025A, Box 1.

⁷² Roosevelt, *Counterchump*, p. 210.

⁷³ Attempts to penetrate the PGT were unsuccessful until very late in the operation and then at a very low level. [] "Penetration of the PGT," HUL-A-244, 19 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 103.

⁷⁴ "All Communist Parties, acting under the direction of the Soviet Union, follow the same general pattern in seeking to capture free social institutions and democratic governments," [] observed. "Some operate openly and others clandestinely, but all are integral parts of the world wide Communist effort," [] to King, "Communist Activities in Central America," HUL-A-544, 21 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 102.

⁷⁵ [] to Frank Wisner, "Performance of the US Army Mission and Military Attache in Guatemala," 9 September 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 23. Wisner thought the Army might have refused to cooperate on principle or out of reluctance to violate the military assistance agreement, but [] explained that the advisers wanted to help but didn't know anything because they didn't socialize with Guatemalan officers.

⁷⁶ [] "Report on Stage One PBSUCCESS," 15 December 1953, Job 79-01025A, Box 1.

⁷⁷ Tranger to King, "Psychological Barometer Report," 23 December 1953, Job 79-01025A, Box 98.

⁷⁸ Andrew B. Wardlaw (First Secretary of the Embassy) to Mr. William L. Krieg (Embassy Counselor), 26 January 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 98, Folder 8.

[] also needed to know how to gain the support of Central American leaders, and his staff struggled to decipher the byzantine politics of the region. The largest and best armed of the Central American states, Guatemala had traditionally sought to reestablish a united Central American federation under Guatemalan leadership. Neighboring states feared these ambitions, but disagreed over whether Guatemala posed a greater threat with a dictatorial or an antidictatorial regime in power. Somoza resented Guatemala's antidictatorial stance and eagerly supported Castillo Armas, whom he considered pliable. []

Somoza's support became essential to PBSUCCESS, and in early January 1954, the United States granted him a long-sought security treaty, entitling Nicaragua to substantial military aid. Honduras and El Salvador enjoyed close ties to the United States but, unlike Nicaragua, they shared a border with Guatemala. President Oscar Osorio of El Salvador and Juan Manuel Gálvez of Honduras had more ambivalent feelings about inciting a rebellion in a neighboring state. Both felt threatened by Arbenz's land reform decree—which might spread rural and labor unrest throughout the region—and had good reasons to support Castillo Armas. Both, however, also worried about the risks of supporting the rebellion. Guatemalan forces might invade Honduras or El Salvador in pursuit of a defeated Castillo Armas. In victory, the rebels might be equally dangerous, particularly if allied to Somoza. Rumors circulated that Castillo Armas had agreed to turn his rebellion into a war of conquest after the fall of Guatemala City. [] emissaries found Gálvez and Osorio demanded a high price for cooperating with PBSUCCESS. They wanted US security guarantees, military aid, and promises to restrain Somoza.¹²

Since 1944, Mexico had taken a paternal interest in Guatemalan democracy, and PBSUCCESS planners feared that the government of Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, if sufficiently aroused, would come to the aid of its neighbor. In May of 1953, Ruiz Cortines awarded Arbenz the highest honor given to a foreign dignitary, the Great Necklace of the Aztec Eagle. Mexico responded to US pressure to cut arms supplies to the Arbenz government, but US diplomats estimated that the Mexicans would react strongly against further efforts to coerce or intimidate Guatemala. This Mexican attitude limited measures that could be taken overtly by the United States and intensified the need to maintain cover and deniability.¹³

¹²Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 223-225; [] to PBSUCCESS Headquarters, "Position of Anastasio Somoza," HUL-A-646, 5 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 103; LINCOLN to DCI, 23 March 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 2; LINCOLN to DCI, LINC 3169, 26 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 5; LINCOLN to Director, LINC 4078, 19 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

¹³John Stephen Zunes, "Decisions on Intervention: United States Response to Third World Nationalist Governments, 1950-1957" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1990), pp. 66-67.

[] case officers also had to learn the politics of the anti-Communist opposition. News of the Agency's interest spread quickly among Guatemalan oppositionists, and LINCOLN was soon inundated with appeals for support. Córdova Cerna, Castillo Armas, and Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes, Arbenz's opponent in the 1950 election, vied with one another for leadership of the Agency-sponsored rebellion. [] sought to consolidate all rebel movements into a united opposition, but had difficulty reconciling the pretensions of the three contenders. Despite flaws, Castillo Armas seemed the best suited to lead the rebellion. The leader of the largest rebel group—the only one with substantial paramilitary and intelligence assets—he had an "above average" military record and enjoyed the support of Somoza and Gálvez.⁴² Agency officials regretted his lack of combat experience but observed a "readiness to take the fullest advantage of future CIA aid and assistance."⁴³ With the help of [] who had been his liaison since PBFORTUNE, Castillo Armas moved his rebels to two bases in Nicaragua—[]

[]—and drafted plans for an invasion.

Castillo Armas's failure to articulate a political philosophy occasionally worried [] and he instructed his agents to find out "just what ideas" the rebel leader had "along the lines of a political-economic concept."⁴⁴ All they had to go on was the "Plan de Tegucigalpa." This manifesto, issued by Castillo Armas on 23 December 1953, was a vague summons to arms that denounced the "Sovietization of Guatemala" and pledged the rebels to form a government that would respect human rights, protect property and foreign capital, accept the recommendations of United Nations economic experts, and explore for oil.⁴⁵ When pressed, Castillo Armas confessed an attraction to "justicialismo," a political program advocated by Juan Perón of Argentina, but he seldom spoke of how he would govern in practice.⁴⁶ He believed Guatemala's main problems would be financial, but he was reluctant to speculate further until he knew in what fiscal condition he would find the treasury. Case officers remained confused but drew reassurance from his unassuming receptiveness to advice. One interviewer was "amazed at his common sense, middle of the road views; this is no Latin American Dictator with a whip."⁴⁷

⁴²J. C. King to Allen Dulles, "Guatemala - General Plan of Action," 11 September 1953, Job 79-01025A, Box 1; [] "Guatemalan Situation," 17 March 1952, Job 80R01731R, Box 17, Folder 688. Castillo Armas also received material support from President Tiburcio Carías Andino of Honduras.
⁴³Allen Dulles to [] and Tofie, "Program PBSUCCESS General Plan of Action," 9 December 1953, Job 83-00739R, Box 5.

[]
⁴⁴[] HUL-A-662, 5 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 103.
⁴⁵[] "El Plan de Tegucigalpa," HUL-A-470, 14 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 102.

⁴⁶For Perón's philosophy, see F. J. McLynn, "Perón's Ideology and its Relation to Political Thought and Action," *Review of International Studies* 9 (1983) 1: 1-15.

⁴⁷[] HUL-A-662, 5 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 103; "Fisherman" to Chief of Station Guatemala, HGG-A-732, 28 January 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 99.



Carlos Castillo Armas

Physically unimposing and with marked *mestizo* features, Castillo Armas had none of the aspect of a *caudillo*, but Agency officials regarded this as an advantage, especially in comparison with the leonine demeanor of Castillo Armas's rival, Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes. As a general in Ubico's army, Ydigoras gained a reputation as a ruthless enforcer of the vagrancy laws, on at least one occasion ordering his troops to rape Indian women and imprison their children.⁹¹ With his aristocrat's mien and contempt for the Indian majority, most PBSUCCESS officers saw Ydigoras as a public relations liability, "ambitious, opportunistic, and unscrupulous."⁹² [] disagreed, passing on to Headquarters *Ydigorista* rumors charging Castillo Armas with being an agent of Arbenz.⁹³ [] summoned [] to LINCOLN for reeducation and assigned a new liaison to the Ydigoras group. After February 1954, Ydigoras was excluded from PBSUCCESS plans but remained an operational and security hazard requiring continual observation.

PBSUCCESS [] officers had good relations with [] and pushed him to assume greater prominence in the rebel leadership. A former [] and [], he was one of the few centrist politicians of stature who had taken a principled stand against the growth of Communist influence in Guatemala. PBSUCCESS officers believed his reputation could compensate for Castillo Armas's inexperience, although age, ill-health, and old ties to United Fruit disqualified him for supreme command. Without followers of his own, []

[] In early February, [] brought Castillo Armas to LINCOLN to sign an accord with [] creating a provisional revolutionary committee known as "the junta," and formalizing the rebels' relationship to the Agency. CIA would funnel aid to the junta through a fictional organization of American businessmen called "the group."⁹⁴

As the Agency organized and assessed its assets in Central America, the State Department's diplomatic offensive began to take effect. By the end of January 1954, [] had established a training base []

⁹¹ Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, p. 61.

⁹² "Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes," [undated], Ydigoras file, Job 79-01025A, Box 81.

[] to Chief, LINCOLN, "Debriefings of [] March 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box []

[] to Chief of Station Guatemala, [] HUL-A-1230, 9 July 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 104.

In the Canal Zone, recruited pilots for black flights, and made preliminary arrangements to set up a clandestine radio station in []⁹⁴ John Foster Dulles, meanwhile, arranged for Venezuela to host a special session of the OAS in March to discuss the Guatemalan situation.⁹⁵ He failed, however, to orchestrate an embargo on Guatemalan coffee. Company executives told State Department officials that the sale of Guatemalan beans in highly competitive global markets could not be limited without drastic action that would inflate coffee prices for American consumers.⁹⁶ Dulles had more luck controlling the trade in arms and ammunition, in which the United



Wide World (AP) ©

Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes

States enjoyed a dominant position. The US had restricted its own sales of arms to Guatemala in 1951, and in 1953 the State Department intervened aggressively to thwart all arms transfers, foiling deals with Canada, Germany, and Rhodesia.⁹⁷ By December, the Arbenz government could not purchase guns or ammunition of any kind, and the Army grew increasingly alarmed about the quantities of military hardware arriving in Nicaragua and Honduras.¹⁰⁰

Arbenz became acutely aware of the threat posed by the arms embargo in late 1953 and prepared to take bold, desperate action to lift it. Conflict touched off by the land reform decree drained the Army's small arsenal and jeopardized the military's ability to fulfill its traditional role as preserver of order in the countryside.¹⁰¹ As the officer corps grew resentful

⁹⁴[] Job 79-01025A, Box 69; "Meeting with KUFUS and RAMON," 29 January 1954, January chrono file, Job 79-01025A, Box 69.

⁹⁵Peurifoy to Department of State, 23 December 1953, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954*, 4: 1093.

⁹⁶Edward G. Cale, "Memorandum of Conversation: Guatemalan Coffee," 25 November 1953, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954*, 4: 1088-1090.

⁹⁷Sharon I. Meers, "The British Connection: How the United States Covered its Tracks in the 1954 Coup in Guatemala," *Diplomatic History* 16 (Summer 1992) 3: 414.

¹⁰⁰[] (Guatemala Station) to WH Chief, "Guatemalan Procurement of Arms in Mexico," 21 December 1953, Job 79-01025A, Box 98.

¹⁰¹Chief of Station Guatemala to Chief, WH, HGG-A-643, 13 January 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 98. This was, of course, the embargo's intended effect. Internal conflict intensified the sense of crisis and isolation the embargo was meant to convey, and [] gleefully reported the Army's growing desperation.



Arbenz was in deep water in late 1953. Learning of the PBSUCCESS plot against him, he decided to purchase arms from Czechoslovakia.

and apprehensive, Arbenz learned of a second, more dire threat. In September 1953, a Panamanian commercial attaché in Managua, Jorge Isaac Delgado, approached an aide to Arbenz and offered to supply information on a rebel movement led by Castillo Armas and secretly supported by the United States. Delgado carried messages between Mexico City and training bases in Nicaragua and enjoyed the trust of CIA field agents. He owned an apartment in Managua rented to [] Few people knew more about the inside workings of PBSUCCESS. For the next four months he worked as a double agent, ferrying messages for [] and passing their contents on to Arbenz.¹⁰²

At a fashionable Guatemala City restaurant on 19 January 1954, the lunchtime crowd enjoyed the spectacle of a heated argument between Arbenz and his agricultural minister, Alfonso Martínez. The only non-Communist prominent in the land reform movement, Martínez was a close friend of the President. The scene touched off rumors that the two men had quarreled over land reform and the growing influence of the PGT. The next

¹⁰² Delgado worked for Somoza as well. Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, p. 258; Director to LINCOLN, DIR 39727, 24 February 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 7; [] "Second Interim Report on Stage Two, PBSUCCESS," 15 March 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 1.

day, Martínez fled Guatemala, purportedly for Switzerland. The CIA Station chalked up the incident as a demonstration of growing dissension within the government, but Headquarters suspected there was more to the story. Agents in Europe tracked Martínez from Amsterdam to Berne—where he opened large bank accounts for Arbenz—then to Prague. It soon became clear that the purported flight was actually a secret mission to buy Czech arms. Unknown to CIA, PGT chairman Manuel Fortuny had met in Prague in November with Antonín Novotný, first secretary of the Czech Communist Party, to negotiate the purchase of 2,000 tons of captured Nazi weapons. Novotný had delayed, keeping him in Prague through most of December. "I decided," Fortuny remembered later, "that the Czechs must be consulting the Soviets." Finally, he was allowed to return to Guatemala with a favorable response. Now Martínez had arrived to complete the deal.¹⁰³

Over the next few weeks, [] staff learned of Delgado's betrayal and witnessed its results. Shortly after Martínez "fled," the largest police dragnet since Salamá rounded up scores of oppositionists, including [] virtually the Station's only source close to the military. The Foreign Ministry expelled Sydney Gruson, a correspondent for the *New York Times*; Marshall Bannell, a CBS correspondent; and an American priest.¹⁰⁴ On Thursday, 29 January, [] learned that [] had been hospitalized for a stomach ulcer and that secret cables kept in his room contrary to security procedures had fallen into the hands of Delgado. Over a frantic weekend, [] discovered that the compromise had been extensive, giving Arbenz "intimate knowledge" of rebel training bases, "intelligence operations and a fairly accurate concept of the modus operandi of PBSUCCESS."¹⁰⁵ On Monday morning, [] Wisner, and King met to discuss the damage and decide whether to go on with the operation or abort it. Despite []'s conclusion that the security breach "unquestionably has provided the enemy with adequate information to deduce the official support of the US Government in Castillo Armas's operations plus considerable details concerned therewith," the officers decided to continue anyway.¹⁰⁶ PBSUCCESS had crossed the Rubicon. To Wisner and [] the United States was too firmly committed to turn back.

¹⁰³ Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 280-283; Walter Bedell Smith to American Embassy, Berne, "Maj. Daniel Alfonso Martínez Estévez," 11 February 1954, Martínez file, Job 79-01025A, Box 81; Tranger to [] "Psychological Barometer Report," 26 January 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 98; Director to [] DIR 38198, 12 February 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 7.

¹⁰⁴ Tranger to LINCOLN, "Psychological Barometer Report," 10 February 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 99. [] "Reporting on Guatemala by *New York Times* Correspondent Sydney Gruson," 21 May 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

¹⁰⁵ [] "Second Interim Report on Stage Two, PBSUCCESS," 15 March 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 1.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*; Director to LINCOLN, DIR 36511, 30 January 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 7.

Ironically, Guatemala's disclosure of the international plot against it reinforced the decision to continue with PBSUCCESS. On 29 and 30 January, screaming headlines denounced the "counterrevolutionary plot" exposed by the government. Arbenz released copies of documents implicating Somoza and a "Northern government" and spelling out PBSUCCESS plans in detail. Reporters learned the location of training bases []

[] Fearing the Guatemalans would take their charges before the United Nations, [] staff glumly watched the flap unfold. As soon as [] could walk, they ordered him to Washington for three days of polygraphing.¹⁰⁸ Reports from Guatemala Station, meanwhile, indicated they had less to worry about than they originally supposed. The government, knowing the gist of PBSUCCESS messages but not possessing the originals, had forged letterheads crudely enough to arouse journalists' suspicions. The international press and a skeptical public dismissed Arbenz's accusations as a political ploy. The Guatemalan public, the Station Chief reported, considered the charges "pure fantasy," a manifestation "of the fear and uncertainty prevailing in government circles."¹⁰⁹ The American press took the same view, unanimously accepting the State Department's characterization of the charges as a propaganda ploy designed to disrupt the Caracas conference.¹¹⁰

The January revelations revealed how much the "plausible deniability" of PBSUCCESS relied on the uncritical acceptance by the American press of the assumptions behind United States policy. Newspaper and broadcast media, for example, accepted the official view of the Communist nature of the Guatemalan regime. In the spring of 1954, NBC News aired a television documentary, "Red Rule in Guatemala," revealing the threat the Arbenz regime posed to the Panama Canal.¹¹¹ Articles in *Reader's Digest*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Saturday Evening Post* drew a frightening picture of the danger in America's backyard. Less conservative papers like the *New York Times* depicted the growing menace in only slightly less alarming terms. The Eisenhower administration's Guatemala policy did not get a free ride in press or in Congress. In early 1954, a number of editorials attacked the President's failure to act against Arbenz, citing the continued presence of US military advisers as evidence of official

¹⁰⁸ V. P. Martin, Air Attaché, "Alleged International Plot Against Guatemala," 1 February 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 82.

¹⁰⁹ Director to LINCOLN, DIR 39727, 24 February 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 7. []

[] 13 April 1954, Job 79-01025A.

Box 10.

¹¹⁰ Tranger to Lincoln, "Psychological Barometer Report," HGG-A-714, 8 February 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 99.

¹¹¹ Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 260-262.

[] to Chief, Graphics Register, "Guatemala Red Rule News Documentary Film Request," 18 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 70.

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complacency. Walter Winchell broadcast stories of Guatemalan spies infiltrating other Latin American countries and urged the CIA to "get acquainted with these people."¹² This line of criticism led reporters to hunt for signs of inertia, not for a secret conspiracy. When Arbenz revealed the plot, American newspapers dismissed it as a Communist ploy, another provocation to which the administration responded far too passively.¹³

Assessing the damage, [] estimated that the operation had lost a month through confusion and the delays involved in reassigning cryptonyms and shuffling personnel.¹⁴ He rallied his dispirited troops with a reminder that "the morale of the Nazis in the winter of 1932, just before their seizure of power in Spring 1933, was at all-time low ebb. The same thing was true of the French revolutionaries and of the Soviet revolutionaries, on the eve of their success."¹⁵ His psywar staff tried to regain the initiative by leveling a countercharge supported by an elaborate fabrication. On 19 February, they planted a cache of Soviet-made arms on the Nicaraguan coast to be "discovered" weeks later by fishermen in the pay of Somoza. The story was appropriately embroidered with allegations about Soviet submarines and Guatemalan assassination squads.¹⁶ As [] should have predicted, the press and public greeted the new allegations as skeptically as they had Arbenz's. The story "did not receive much, if any, publicity in the Guatemalan press."¹⁷ The deception simply left an impression that the region's leaders had carried their intriguing to dangerous lengths.

Despite good intelligence and decisive action, Arbenz failed to capitalize on the opposition's setback. Instead of rallying support for his regime, his January allegations only intensified public anxiety and raised suspicions that he was creating a pretext for seizing dictatorial powers. A more critical failure was his inability to turn the charges of an international plot into a successful diplomatic initiative. Any hopes Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello may have entertained of bringing charges before the

¹²J. C. King to Dulles, "Walter Winchell Broadcast of 3 January 1954," 7 January 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

¹³Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 260-263; Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁴"LINCOLN to [] "Operational LINCOLN Sitrep," HUL-A-93, 23 February 1954, Job 79-01022A, Box 101.

¹⁵[] to Chief of Station Guatemala, HUL-A-374, 31 March 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 101.

¹⁶"PBSUCCESS History, Job 85-00664R, Box 5, Folder 13: [] to Chief of Station Guatemala, "KUGOWN/WASHTUB Publicity in Guatemalan Press," HUL-A-827, 19 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 103. The deception, called operation WASHTUB, culminated with a press conference by Somoza on 7 May at which reporters were told that the Soviet submarine had been photographed, but that no prints or negatives were available. Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, p. 294.

¹⁷[] to Chief of Station Guatemala, "Publicity in Guatemalan Press," 19 May 1954, WASHTUB file, Job 79-01025A, Box 82. See other items in file for the sometimes bizarre details of the WASHTUB plot.

Organization of American States were dashed by John Foster Dulles's preparations for the Caracas conference. Faced with negative growth for three straight years, Latin American governments needed trade concessions and credit from the United States and they were ready to yield on the issue of Guatemala. The Secretary of State recognized that the "major interest of the Latin American countries at this conference would concern economics whereas the chief United States interest is to secure a strong anti-Communist resolution" against Guatemala, but he recognized that Guatemala's underdog status and the nationalistic pride of Latin diplomats would blunt this diplomatic advantage.¹¹⁸ The 1-13 March conference proved a mixed success. Dulles got his resolution, but only after Toriello's denunciations received loud, sustained applause. The Guatemalan foreign minister condemned the United States for encouraging boycotts and unleashing a propaganda campaign intended to tar his reformist regime with the epithet "Communist." He presented documents that "unquestionably show that the foreign conspirators and monopolistic interests that inspired and financed them sought to permit armed intervention against our country as 'a noble undertaking against Communism.'" He accused Dulles of using Pan-Americanism and anti-Communism as instruments to suppress the growth of democracy and industry in Latin America.¹¹⁹ "He said many of the things some of the rest of us would like to say if we dared," one delegate explained.¹²⁰ The pride Toriello's speech stirred in Guatemala City, the Station reported, was little consolation for the sense of gloom that followed.¹²¹ After Caracas, Arbenz and the PGT realized international opinion would not rescue them from the United States. Guatemala was alone. "Caracas had exposed her isolation," according to one historian, "and the messages of support that poured in from politicians, intellectuals, and trade unionists of several Latin American countries were of little solace."¹²²

PBSUCCESS continued to be plagued by breaches of security, but the operation had acquired a relentless momentum. In early April, security investigators discovered telephone bugs "similar to the jobs the Russians used" in the Embassy in Guatemala City, a microphone concealed in a chandelier in Willauer's residence, and a tap on the telephone of one of Peurifoy's assistants.¹²³ Castillo Armas refused to sever ties to a number of his assistants who flunked polygraph tests.¹²⁴ [] admitted that members of Castillo Armas's organization had taken classified papers giving

¹¹⁸ Immerman, *CIA in Guatemala*, p. 145.

¹¹⁹ "Address by His Excellency Guillermo Toriello Garrido, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guatemala, in the Third Plenary Session, Tenth Inter-American Conference," 5 March 1954, Toriello file, Job 79-01025A, Box 81.

¹²⁰ Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, p. 273.

¹²¹ Tranger to LINCOLN, "Weekly Psych Intelligence Report," HGG-A-919, 5-12 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 99.

¹²² Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, p. 284.

¹²³ "Audio Counter Surveillance Check," April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 70.

¹²⁴ [] a spy in Castillo Armas's organization, may have passed on the locations of the paramilitary and communications training bases. Juan [] suspected of being [] infedrate, was expelled from the training program but remained in the organization.

conclusive proof of official US involvement. A Nicaraguan immigration officer who helped arrange black flights took asylum in the Guatemalan Embassy in Managua. Jacob Esterline, a senior Agency official, estimated that "the Guatemalan government is well into the details of PBSUCCESS and that they have decided to let the operation proceed undisturbed until they have prepared and documented a brief for presentation to the OAS."¹²⁵ PBSUCCESS "in its present form appears to be rather naked," Wisner admitted. "Several categories of people—hostile, friendly, and 'neutral'—either know or suspect or believe that the United States is directly behind this one and, assuming that it proceeds to a conclusion, would be able to tell a very convincing story."¹²⁶ Henry F. Holland, the new Assistant Secretary of State



Wide World (AP) ©
Assistant Secretary of State Henry F. Holland nearly canceled PBSUCCESS in April 1954 when he learned of serious security breaches.

Inter-American Affairs, frightened by the revelations, asked that the operation be held up pending a top-level review. Wisner suspended all black flights on 15 and 16 April while the Dulles brothers consulted.¹²⁷ On the 17th [] once again received the green light.

Preparing for Action

By early April, [] team had completed its assessments and developed an operational plan. LINCOLN case officers now felt they understood the preparations necessary to mount a successful coup and the situation likely to prevail in Guatemala after the operation's completion. Rejecting tactics aimed at merely severing Arbenz's tie to international Communism, they aimed to produce a radical, revolutionary change in

¹²⁵Esterline to [] "Items for Inclusion in CE Report," 22 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 70.

¹²⁶"Ways and Means of Improving Cover and Deception for SUCCESS Operation," 28 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 70.

¹²⁷Esterline to [] "Things to Do," 15 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 70.

Guatemalan politics. They sought the reversal of the Revolution of 1944, the termination of land reform, and the replacement of Arbenz with a liberal, authoritarian leader. Afterwards, they foresaw a prolonged period of dictatorial rule during which the regime would depend on United States aid and arms. [] felt a military coup offered the surest means to this outcome, and he directed his psychological, political, and paramilitary efforts at intimidating the Army and inciting it to mutiny.

The final plans for PBSUCCESS called for drastic change. The program and rhetoric of the Revolution of 1944 retained its appeal for many Guatemalans, and LINCOLN had briefly considered appropriating its themes. But by April they rejected the idea "that a genuinely fervent and lasting revolutionary movement can be based on the principal program of the incumbent regime." It would be difficult to loosen Arbenz's identification with the revolution, [] thought, and it might not be worth the effort. Claiming that Arbenz had betrayed the ideals of 1944 weakened the argument for action "because we are only pleading for 'reform' of the present system and there is a world of difference between reform and revolution." Case officers also felt they needed more conservative themes to appeal to the groups in Guatemala most likely to take action against the regime: the Army, conservative students, and landowners. Attacks on land reform and other progressive measures would produce the best results with these groups. "Our recommendation," []abled agents in the field, is "that the revolution of 1944 be declared dead."¹²⁸

[] initially considered incorporating Arbenz's agrarian reform "as originally conceived as part of our political program," but he soon came to regard it as an instrument of subversion and instructed case officers to make it a target of disruptive propaganda.¹²⁹ "The Agrarian Reform program has provided the communists with weapons which may be useful as their struggle for domination continues," he told King.¹³⁰ He urged field officers to use "all means at hand" to spread "slogans like 'Communist land is temporary land,' or something similar," to promote the belief that "parcels of land received from the present government would constitute a

"[] to Chief of Station Guatemala, "Materials for Transmittal to Eliot P. Razmara," HUL-A-237, 17 March 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 101. In the September plan, [] left open the possibility that Arbenz could be coerced into expelling Communists from government. Schlesinger and Kinzer claim he attempted a bribe but was rebuffed by Arbenz's aides. There is no record of this in Agency archives, but it is not inconsistent with [] thinking in early January. By late March, however, the LINCOLN case officer saw no room for Arbenz in the post-PBSUCCESS government. *Bitter Fruit*, p. 113.

¹²⁸ [] objections to Decree 900 were purely tactical. He thought Castillo Armas could win support among *campesinos* by backing land reform. The key was to obtain the defection of Alfonso Martinez, the reform's non-Communist director. When this appeared impossible in late March, [] decided the land reform had to be destroyed. [] "Agrarian Reform," 8 March 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 147.

¹²⁹ [] to King, "Communist Activities in Central America," HUL-A-544, 21 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 102.

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proof of guilt in the future."¹³¹ PBSUCCESS propagandists also spread rumors that land reform was simply a prelude to collectivized agriculture, state farms, and forced labor.¹³² [] believed that the post-Arbenz regime should avoid land redistribution as a solution to rural poverty, and instead should foster the growth of light industry "to provide additional purchasing power to the residents of rural areas" and "make goods available to them at more reasonable prices." "It is well known," he observed, that "raising the level of consumer consumption, the expansion of productive facilities and the general augmentation of prosperity is not only a good deterrent toward Communism, but also an effective method of producing general political stability."¹³³

Before deciding on methods and strategies, [] case officers carefully listed the goals of PBSUCCESS, beginning with the replacement of Arbenz with a moderate, authoritarian regime. [] considered democracy an "unrealistic" alternative for Guatemala. "Premature extension of democratic privileges and responsibilities to a people still accustomed to patriarchal methods can only be harmful," he warned. A "judicious combination of authority and liberty will have to govern the political system." Concentrating authority in the person of a dictator also involved dangers, and [] advised against setting up a Somoza-style dictatorship.

The executive power, without being paralyzed (sic), must be sufficiently divided in order to provide inner balance. While this at first sight may seem to be a factor making for instability, it actually has a protective aspect, because it prevents the capture of the center of power by a single hostile blow.¹³⁴

A ruling committee, or junta, seemed to be the answer. [] foresaw a six-month period of emergency rule followed by a milder authoritarianism of indefinite duration. The principal duties of the new regime were to provide stability, raise living standards, and ensure protection for American business.¹³⁵

As [] envisioned it, United Fruit would receive greater protection under the new regime, but it would have to offer concessions in return. United Fruit and other American investments, he conceded, "represent a part of the American national interest and will be protected by the United

¹³¹ [] to King, "Communist Activities in Central America," HUL-A-544, 21 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 102.

¹³² [] to Tranger, "Economic Propaganda Themes," HUL-A-596, 1 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 102.

¹³³ [] to Tranger, "Political-Economic Views to be Expressed During the K-Program," HUL-A-514, 21 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 102.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

States as such." But the "United States does not expect American companies to enjoy abroad immunities and privileges that would make for political instability or social injustice in other countries, because such a condition of course would be harmful to the over-riding American political interest." Above all, [] wanted the new regime to avoid the embarrassment of retreating from victories won by Arbenz. United Fruit executives would have to understand that there would be no return to the status quo ante. They would have to pay taxes and submit to competition from Guatemalan companies. Labor unions, purged of Communists, would be protected. Since [] saw American capital as necessary for the new regime's stability, he saw "no real reason why a legitimate accord, satisfying the interests of both, cannot be found between American companies in Guatemala and the Guatemalan government."¹²⁶

[] could see few details of the future regime clearly, but one feature was obvious: it would need American money. "Shortly after the Communists were defeated in Iran, the Iranian Government received generous assistance," he recalled. "Undoubtedly, the disappearance of the Communist regime from Guatemala will leave behind a certain economic and financial chaos which must be rectified by American aid." The new regime should build its reputation by industrializing Guatemala and raising its standard of living. The World Bank had devised a development program that should be pursued, but not in the tightfisted way of the past. "There is increasing recognition in American and other banking circles that the economic development of countries such as Guatemala cannot be undertaken and financed under strictly economic criteria," he explained. "We realize that there must necessarily be a certain wastage of funds because of local political conditions. We are prepared to underwrite this wastage."¹²⁷ But before PBSUCCESS could usher in the new dependent, undemocratic regime, it would have to mobilize Guatemalan activists, strengthen Castillo Armas, and coax the Army to commit treason.

[] final plans included three areas of action: propaganda (or "PP"), paramilitary, and political. Early in 1954, the Agency began a sustained effort to intimidate the government and convince Guatemalans that an active underground resistance existed. The CEUA student group, which [] had been active since

late 1953.¹²⁸ Headed by a young activist, [] the group counted 50 members in the capital and a nationwide network of sympathetic students ready to risk arrest for the cause.¹²⁹ The exuberant anti-Communism of the CEUA students elated [] tired of the cynical politics of Ydigoras and Castillo Armas. []

adviser of []

[] a close friend and
[] who first met members

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ [] "Report on Stage One PBSUCCESS, Annex B, Friendly Assets and Potential," 15 December 1953. Job 79-01025A, Box 1. []

¹²⁹ [] "Report on Stage One PBSUCCESS" 13 December 1953. Job 79-01025A, Box 1. []

[

] This tenuous pipeline conveyed all of the plans, publications, and schemes LINCOLN officers could devise.¹⁴¹

The students' propagandizing met with immediate and well-publicized success. In their opening salvo on 15 September 1953, they had pasted 106,000 anti-Communist stickers to buses and trains. They leafleted public gatherings, sent fake funeral notices to Arbenz and Fortuny, and covered walls with antigovernment graffiti. Their "32" campaign in March and April 1954 drew wide newspaper coverage. Students painted the number 32—for Article 32 of the Constitution, which forbade international political parties—on walls in the city center. Newspapers recognized it as an anti-Communist slogan and described the constabulary's frustrated attempts to identify the culprits. The students sponsored an "Anti-Communist Hour" on Radio Internacional, an independent station until 21 April, when armed thugs burst into the station during the airing of the program, beat several broadcasters, and destroyed their equipment.¹⁴² In some of their activities, CEUA received help from an organization of anti-Communist market women, the Comité Anticomunista de Locatorias de los Mercados de Guatemala, who spread rumors and passed leaflets among shoppers. The two groups distributed thousands of copies of a pastoral letter by Archbishop Mariano Rossell y Arrellana calling for a national crusade against Communism.¹⁴³ Case officers judged the outraged reaction of Arbenz's officials as indicators of success.

Encouraged by these victories, LINCOLN staffers spent hours inventing schemes for the CEUA students to carry out. The fake funeral notices were their idea, meant to harass and frighten top PGT officials. Throughout March and April, they bombarded [] with suggestions for campaigns and themes, some useful others whimsical. After the pastoral letter, they attempted to arouse Catholics with mailings from a phony "Organization

¹⁴¹Tranger to LINCOLN, "Psychological Barometer Report," HGG-A-682, 27 January 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 98; [] Job 63-00345R, Box 274, Folder 35.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*

¹⁴³Paul P. Kennedy, "Guatemalans Get Appeal to Revolt," *New York Times*, May 3, 1954. [] to LINCOLN, "Weekly Psych Intelligence Report," HGG-A-919, 16 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 99. The pastoral letter was the Church's most useful contribution to PBSUCCESS. The Agency did not have a strong tie to the Catholic hierarchy in Guatemala []

[] to King, "Roman Catholic Church in Guatemala," HUL-A-30, 2 February 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 101.

of the Militant Godless," purportedly headed by members of the PGT.¹⁴⁴ They printed stickers reading "A Communist Lives Here" for the students to put on houses.¹⁴⁵ Fake newspaper clippings and articles from international Communist publications were a favorite ploy. [] and the Station Chief [] Guatemala resented these suggestions because of the burdens they placed on field officers and the goodwill of CEUA. Mailings had to be posted from outlying towns to avoid detection. Each new scheme involved risks and cost time that could be spent on successful ongoing operations. [] complained that overwork and "ravaging amoebae" kept him from spending more than two hours on his cover assignment in the last two weeks of March. He started holding meetings with [] in his bathroom.¹⁴⁶

Field officers also felt LINCOLN's schemes aimed at the wrong audience, targeting intellectuals, a constituency unlikely to be of much help. [] aimed to "attack the theoretical foundations of the enemy" on the grounds that "the present state of things in the country is largely determined by intellectuals." Tranger disparaged such appeals. The objective, he told [] was to scare the Communists, not debate them. Propaganda "should be designed to (1) intensify anti-Communist, anti-government sentiment and create a disposition to act; and (2) create dissension, confusion, and FEAR in the enemy camp." With the backing of [] and [] Tranger won his point. Abandoning the "lofty, lengthy tomes that appeal to the intellectual minority," psychological efforts aimed, in his words, at "the heart, the stomach and the liver (fear)."¹⁴⁷

As the psychological campaign wore on, CEUA activists grew dissatisfied with the risks involved and the content of the materials they were asked to distribute. Some students considered the group's slogans too harsh and divisive, a feeling for which [] had little sympathy. "We are not running a popularity contest but an uprising," he fumed. The students' concerns also, perhaps, stemmed from a suspicion that they were being used. Field officers admitted they were using the students as bait, in Tranger's words, to "invite complete suppression of overt anti-Communist, anti-government units and then use such suppression to demonstrate to the people here and abroad the nature and seriousness of the menace and refute claims of 'democratic freedoms.'" In May 1954, as CEUA began to suffer attrition through the arrest of its members, students became increasingly unhappy with the sacrifices they were asked to make. By 26 May, field officers reported that 10 students were in jail, the others were afraid to work, and recruiting had fallen to zero. By then a clandestine radio station

¹⁴⁴ [] to Tranger, "Black Letter from the 'Preparatory Committee for an Organization of the Militant Godless,'" HUL-A-875, 23 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 103.

¹⁴⁵ [] to Tranger, HUL-A-516, 21 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 102.

¹⁴⁶ [] to LINCOLN, [] 19 March 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 100.

¹⁴⁷ Tranger to [] "KUGOWN/[] Activities," 31 March 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 99.

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had been operating for three weeks and Castillo Armas was leafleting the capital from aircraft. PBSUCCESS had moved from its propaganda to its paramilitary phase.¹⁴⁸

Agency propaganda operations succeeded in making Guatemala into the type of repressive regime the United States liked to portray it as. By late April, freedoms of speech and assembly had all but been revoked by official decrees and unofficial goon squads, which intimidated independent newspapers and radio stations into silence. Radio Universal, the only openly anti-Communist radio station, closed after its offices were raided by goons and its owner placed under arrest. Opposition elements remained active owing largely to the failure of Guatemalan police to make systematic arrests. Guatemala Station reported that the government's behavior demonstrated a "desire to crush opposition activity together with what appeared to be a lack of knowledge as to how to proceed most effectively."¹⁴⁹ In the ensuing weeks, the police would cast scruples aside and move decisively to suppress the remnants of the opposition.

Despite the intensive effort put into propaganda, [] considered it secondary to the political, or "K" program, which aimed to undermine the Army's loyalty to Arbenz and bring it over, whole or in part, to the side of the rebellion. CEUA publications, *El Rebelde* and *El Combate*, carried articles aimed at a military audience. A series of editorials drafted by LINCOLN in March for *El Rebelde* communicated the sense of intensifying pressure case officers wanted the Army to feel. The first, entitled "A Time to Doubt," raised questions about whether the Army should continue its political neutrality. The second, "A Time to Think," threatened the Army with "a terrible fate if it continues on its present collaborationist path." The series ended with "A Time to Choose," urging officers to break their ties with the government and offer their services to the rebellion "if they wish to share in the triumph over Communism."¹⁵⁰ Egged on by [] student activists stepped up the pressure on Army officers and their families with telephone harassment and minor acts of sabotage.¹⁵¹ US military advisers and Embassy officials joined the effort to spread fear and dissension among the officer corps, telling military leaders in unguarded terms that the United States could no longer tolerate Arbenz and would take drastic steps if the Army failed to act. "We were under enormous pressure," one Guatemalan officer remembered. "The US military mission

¹⁴⁸Playdon to PBSUCCESS Headquarters, "Report on ESSENCE Activities," HUL-A-929, 26 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 103.

¹⁴⁹[] to LINCOLN, "Weekly Psych Intelligence Report, 19-26 April 1954," HGG-A-969, Job 79-01025A, Box 99.

¹⁵⁰[] to Frances R. Hegarty, 23 February 1954, "Letter of Instructions," Job 79-01025A, Box 101.

¹⁵¹LINCOLN to Chief of Station Guatemala, "Telephone Team for Rumor Propagation," HUL-A-134, 2 March 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 101.

even hinted that the United States would invade."¹³² [] used all available means to impress on Army officers "the facts of life as far as they are concerned":

- a. They are in the United States sphere of influence.
- b. If they think that a people of 3,000,000 is going to win in a showdown with 160,000,000 they need psychiatric help.
- c. If they think that the US will never come to a showdown, they don't understand gringos. It might be useful to explain gringos in the way that foreigners see them and point out that force is the follower of reason, in the American pattern.
- d. If they think that the Soviet Union can bail them out of this predicament, they once more require psychiatric help.
- e. If they think that the Soviet Union will or even wants to bail them out, it should be perfectly clear to them that the Soviet Union is exploiting them only to create a diversion in the US backyard while Indochina is hot, and that the Soviets will drop them in a hurry when the going gets tough.
- f. If they are unhappy about being in the US sphere of influence, they might be reminded that the US is the most generous and tolerant taskmaster going, that cooperation with it is studded with material reward, and that the US permits much more sovereignty and independence in its sphere than the Soviets, and so forth.

Although [] had too few sources close to the Army to know it, these facts already weighed on the minds of Guatemala's military leaders. Deteriorating relations with the United States exacted a price on the Army's effectiveness and prestige. Successive shocks—Peurifoy's denunciations, the arms embargo, and Caracas—filled the officer corps with dread and suspicion. Officers could not tell who among their peers could be trusted, who would betray. "A great number of the officers are extremely unhappy about the Communists in the government and the poor US-Guatemalan relations," a US adviser reported, but "none dares to speak out for fear of jeopardizing his personal security."¹³³

[] efforts to find and recruit disgruntled officers continued to come up short. An attempt to bribe Carlos Enrique Díaz, chief of the Guatemalan armed forces, failed.¹³⁴ [] was particularly frustrated by

¹³²Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, p. 305.

¹³³*Ibid.*

¹³⁴Díaz was to be approached while visiting Caracas and offered a \$200,000 bribe to "act decisively to change the present Guatemalan problem." The attempt failed, possibly because Díaz was surprised to be recognized while traveling with his mistress. [] to King. "Col. Carlos Enrique Díaz," 14 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 70; King to Wisner, "Approach to Col. Carlos Enrique Díaz," 6 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 70.

his inability to place an agent close to [] In April, LINCOLN case officers obtained the help of []

[] who agreed to return to Guatemala and attempt to recruit [] and others. [] had been popular among the officer corps and appeared "highly knowledgeable regarding key military personnel targeted under K-Program." [] he arrived in Guatemala City and had no trouble mixing with his old friends, but the results proved disappointing. Officers were happy to reminisce about happier times but unwilling to discuss current politics. The genial [] hesitated to pry, and he returned to Miami a week later with nothing to report.¹⁵³

By May, [] political program was in crisis. Case officers continued to believe the Army held the key to the operation's success and that [] could lead an Army rebellion. [] had no way to guide or predict [] actions, and he realized that an abortive or mistimed coup could ruin all of his careful preparations. Reluctantly, he instructed [] who replaced Tranger as Chief of Station in Guatemala in April) to look for an opportunity to make a cold approach. The stakes were high. [] could alienate or endanger [] But [] was ready to take the risk. He felt that the psychological campaign against the Army had reached such intensity that if [] could make the approach discreetly, [] could be cajoled or bullied into cooperating.¹⁵⁴

[] never intended for Castillo Armas's force to challenge the Guatemalan Army. Instead, it was to be used as another psychological weapon in the campaign to intimidate Arbenz and incite an Army revolt. He trained and supplied the small force to accentuate its propaganda (rather than military) value, stressing sabotage and air operations. In March, he began assembling a fleet that came to comprise a dozen aircraft at an abandoned airstrip near Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua (a base later used by the Bay of Pigs invaders).¹⁵⁵ Somoza purchased some of the planes []

[] and received others under the military assistance agreement. They were then loaned to Castillo Armas and registered to []

¹⁵³[] to King, HUL-A-449, 9 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 102; [] as Chief of Station Guatemala, "SOCCER debriefing," HUL-A-410, 7 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 102; LINCOLN to DCL, LINC 1535, 2 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 3.

¹⁵⁴[] "K Program," HUL-A-614, 2 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 103; Guatemala Station to Director, GUAT 866, 16 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 11. See Guatemala cables to LINCOLN for June 1954 in Box 11.

¹⁵⁵LINCOLN to SHERWOOD, LINC 4562, 30 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6. The aircraft used in PBSUCCESS totaled 12: three C-47 (DC-3) cargo planes, six F-47 Thunderbolt fighter-bombers, one P-38 Lightning fighter, one Cessna 180, and one Cessna 140. In May, the rebel air force moved to a Nicaraguan base adjoining the Managua airport.



The Liberaciónista air force on the tarmac at Managua Airport. [] The rebel air force consisted of three C-47 transport planes, two P-47 fighter-bombers, one P-38 fighter, one Cessna 180, and one Cessna 140.

[] in St. Petersburg, Florida.¹¹⁸ For [] Aircraft linked the paramilitary and propaganda sides of the operation, enabling the rebels to strike directly at the government in full view of the entire city.

Since Castillo Armas could not furnish pilots, the Agency hired some on contract and transferred others from its proprietary airline in the Far East, Civil Air Transport. Offering \$2,000 a month and a \$250 bonus for each successful mission, Willauer rounded up a motley assortment of bush pilots, ex-military fliers, and expatriate barnstormers with names like []

[]¹¹⁹ The group leader was []

[] and King constantly worried about security and cover for the pilots, who might be downed at any time, or, in the case of [] "be bought by the highest bidder."¹²⁰ Explaining the presence of pilots from China was tricky, and the cover story King devised nearly ended in disaster. The pilots, on annual leave, were to whoop it up in Miami and Havana "making the usual rounds of clubs and gambling establishments," lose all their money, and fortuitously run into a

¹¹⁸[] (unsigned), "Questions arising from Study of LINC 3057 re Purchase of Aircraft," 24 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 70. [] "Unauthorized Landing of C-47 in Honduras," 11 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 70.

¹¹⁹"Debriefing Report, [] Assistant Air Operations Officer, (undated), Job 79-01025A, Box 167.

¹²⁰LINCOLN to Director, LINC 4093, 20 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

¹²¹Contact Report, HUL-A-70, 8 February 1954 [] office, LINCOLN, present: Mr. Barnes, [] King and [] Messrs. [] King, and [] Job 79-01025A, Box 101.

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"Latin businessman" who promised quick money for flying a few loads of farm equipment in Central America. Embassy officials had to intervene when suspicious FBI agents in Havana hauled the pilots in for questioning.¹⁶²

Meanwhile, Castillo Armas completed preparations for the invasion. Training programs at [] and the two Nicaraguan bases graduated 37 saboteurs in March, 30 field officers in mid-April, and a handful of communications specialists by mid-May. The friendly, taciturn American instructors, one trainee remembered, were known only by their first names, which were either Pepe or José.¹⁶³ Delays in the training program—particularly for radio operators—pushed the scheduled invasion from mid-May into June. Most of the rebel recruits could not read, and communications instructors complained of difficulties in getting across technical concepts.¹⁶⁴

At least one historian has made the claim that Castillo Armas's force was more fearsome than has generally been reported. Frederick Marks refers to them as small in number but "highly trained and exceedingly well-equipped," and notes that they had "twenty-two thousand rockets, forty-five thousand rifles, four hundred mortars, and pieces of heavy artillery."¹⁶⁵ From Agency records, it is clear the rebels possessed neither rockets nor artillery. Moreover, it is unlikely Castillo Armas's troops would have carried more than a single rifle apiece, since they were obliged to carry all of their food and supplies with them. The rebel army never impressed officials at CIA Headquarters (Bissell later remembered it as "extremely small and ill-trained") and in the months before the invasion some in the PBSUCCESS hierarchy were beginning to have doubts about Castillo Armas's suitability for command.¹⁶⁶ Guatemalan officers' low opinion of him hampered the political program. Tracey Barnes considered him a "bold but incompetent man" who fantasized about rebellion but lacked the leadership to follow through on plans.¹⁶⁷ [] however, strongly defended him. Castillo Armas "is the man and there will be no deviation from that," he told his case officers. "Any criticisms or doubts of him pale before the fact that he now has both the manpower and the materiel to accomplish the job." He reminded critics that Castillo Armas would have "considerable technical assistance. He has the humility and decency to rely on advice, and his present advisors have his respect and

¹⁶²Chief, WHD, to LINCOLN, "Operational Air Support Plan," HUL-A-157, 6 March 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 101.

¹⁶³Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, p. 293.

¹⁶⁴[] "Final Report on Stage Two PBSUCCESS" [undated], Job 79-01025A, Box 167.

¹⁶⁵Frederick W. Marks III, "The CIA and Castillo Armas in Guatemala, 1954: New Clues to an Old Puzzle," *Diplomatic History* 14 (Winter 1990) 1: 69.

¹⁶⁶Interview with Richard M. Bissell, Jr., 5 June 1967, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Job 85-0664R, Box 5.

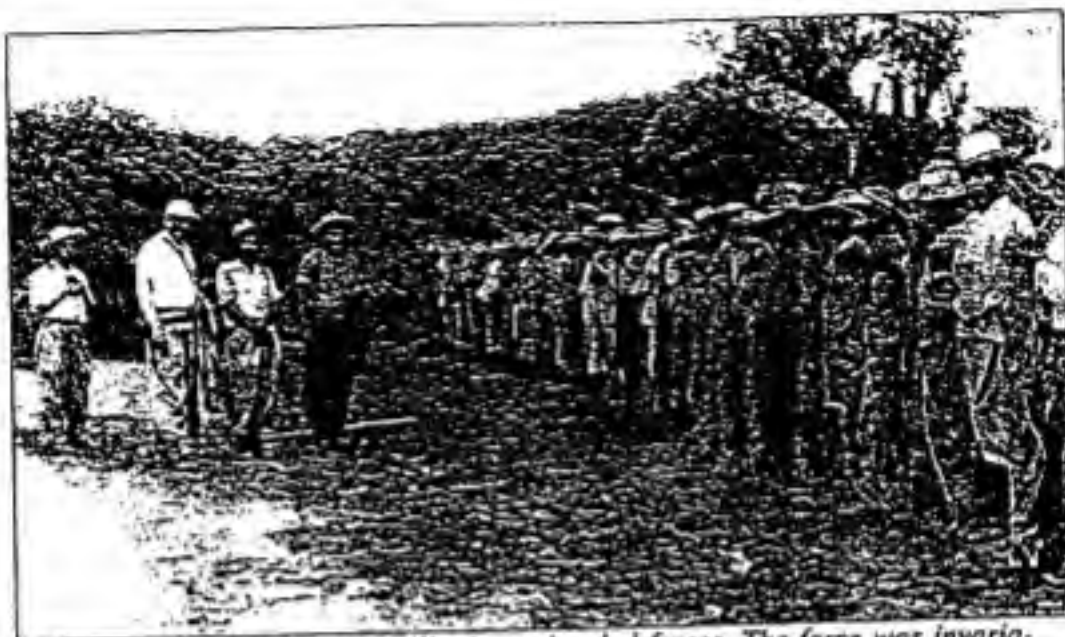
¹⁶⁷PBSUCCESS History, Job 85-00664R, Box 5, Folder 13.

confidence to a sufficient degree that he would no doubt rely on them for counsel when it comes to the question of whom he shall associate himself with both before and after victory."¹⁴⁸

As the preparation phase drew to a close at the end of April 1954, LINCOLN staffers felt a mixed sense of elation and apprehension. Their propaganda efforts had shaken the Arbenz regime and heartened the opposition, but the government's crackdown and the fatigue of the CEUA students made it clear the effort could not be sustained much longer. Paramilitary training had made great strides, but Castillo Armas's feeble forces and mercenary air force were still no match for the 5,000-strong Guatemalan Army, if the Army stood by Arbenz. [] plans to seduce

¹⁴⁸ []o Chief of Station Guatemala, "Political-Economic Views to be Expressed During K-Program," HUL-A-514, 21 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 102.

~~Secret~~



reviews Castillo Armas's rebel forces. The force was invariably described as "ragtag." The Agency supplied money and arms, but the troops had no uniforms or boots.

the officer corps remained as tantalizingly promising but as far from consummation as they were in January. The psychological pressure on the Guatemalan Government was reaching its maximum point. The time to act had arrived, yet it was still unclear how and whether success could be attained.

~~Secret~~

Chapter 3

Sufficient Means

I think we tend to overlook simply the massiveness of US power viewed from Arbenz's position. . . . We knew how difficult it was even to get two more aircraft down there and in action. . . . I think it was easy for us to forget that Arbenz felt himself up against the might of the United States, and quite possibly the impact on him of specific events was that it may simply have persuaded him that the US was in earnest, and that if these means proved to be insufficient, then other stronger means would be used.

Richard Bissell¹⁴⁹

PBSUCCESS was ready by the beginning of May to place maximum pressure on the Arbenz regime. [] had a variety of instruments at his disposal: propaganda, sabotage, aircraft, an army of insurrectionists, and the implicit threat of US military power. He used all of them to intensify the psychological distress of Arbenz and his officials. Even the paramilitary program—Castillo Armas and his *liberacionistas*—served a psychological rather than a military function. As an Agency memo prepared for Eisenhower explained, the operation relied "on psychological impact rather than actual military strength, although it is upon the ability of the Castillo Armas effort to create and maintain the *impression* of very substantial military strength, that the success of this particular effort primarily depends."¹⁵⁰ Dealing in the insubstantial stuff of impressions and degrees of intimidation, [] could not always measure progress, and it was difficult for even those close to PBSUCCESS to know what was happening, whether they were succeeding or failing, and why.

The Voice of Liberation

As Guatemalans turned on their short-wave radios on the morning of 1 May 1954, they found a new station weakly audible on a part of the dial that had been silent before. Calling itself *La Voz de la Liberación*, it broadcast a combination of popular recordings, bawdy humor, and

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Richard M. Bissell, Jr., 5 June 1967, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Job 85-0664R, Box 5.

¹⁵⁰ Immerman, *CIA in Guatemala*, p. 161.

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antigovernment propaganda. The announcers, claiming to be speaking from "deep in the jungle," exhorted Guatemalans to resist Communism and the Arbenz regime and support the forces of liberation led by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas. The two-hour broadcast was repeated four times. For the next week the station broadcast an hour-long program at 7:00 A.M. and 9:00 P.M. daily.¹⁷¹ Although only faintly and intermittently heard in the capital, the station electrified a city where open criticism of the regime had become dangerous for journalists and private citizens alike. Government spokesmen denounced the broadcasts as a fraud, originating not in Guatemala but over the border in Mexico or Honduras. Most listeners, however, preferred to believe that brave radiomen, hidden in a remote outpost, were defying official censors and the police.

So began an operation [] later called the "finest example PP/Radio effort and effectiveness on the books."¹⁷² The voices heard in Guatemala originated not in the jungle, or even in Honduras, but in a Miami [] where a team of four Guatemalan men and two women mixed announcements and editorials with canned music. The broadcasts reminded soldiers of their duty to protect the country from foreign ideologies, warned women to keep their husbands away from Communist party meetings and labor unions, and threatened government officials with reprisals.¹⁷³ Couriers carried the tapes via Pan American Airways to [] where they were beamed into Guatemala from a mobile transmitter. When the traffic in tapes aroused the suspicions of Panamanian customs officials, the announcers moved to [] and began broadcasting live from a dairy farm [] a site known as SHERWOOD. At about the same time, the SHERWOOD operation improved its reception in Guatemala by boosting its signal strength.¹⁷⁴ By mid-May the rebel broadcasts were heard loud and clear in Guatemala City, and SHERWOOD announcers were responding quickly to developments in the enemy capital.

To direct the SHERWOOD operation, Tracy Barnes selected a clever and enterprising contract employee, David Atlee Phillips, a onetime actor and newspaper editor in Chile. When Phillips arrived in [] in March, one of the Guatemalan announcers explained that the target audience was mixed. "Two percent are hard-core Marxists; 13 percent are officials and others in sympathy with the Arbenz regime. . . . Two percent are militant anti-Communists, some of them in exile." The remainder was neutral, apathetic, or frustrated, "a soap opera audience." The objective, the announcer continued, was to intimidate the Communists and their sympathizers and stimulate the apathetic majority to act.¹⁷⁵ Initial broadcasts

¹⁷¹LINCOLN to Guatemala Station, LINC 2212, 29 April 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 4.

¹⁷²LINCOLN to SHERWOOD, LINC 4607, 2 July 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

¹⁷³Phillips, *The Night Watch* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1977), p. 53.

¹⁷⁴Guatemala Station complained of poor reception until 22 May. LINCOLN to SHERWOOD, LINC 3002, 22 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 5.

¹⁷⁵Phillips, *Night Watch*, pp. 50-51.

would establish the station's credibility, setting the stage for an "Orson Welles type 'panic broadcast'" to coincide with Castillo Armas's invasion. The program would follow the lead of earlier PP efforts, combining intimidating misinformation with pithy slogans, and targeting "men of action," particularly the Army.¹⁷⁸ The station's slogan became *Trabajo, Pan y Patria*, work, bread, and country.

In Phillips' account of the operation, SHERWOOD was singularly responsible for the triumph of PBSUCCESS. "When the campaign started," he observes, "the Guatemalan capital and countryside had been quiet. Within a week there was unrest everywhere."¹⁷⁹ Scholars have generally given similar credit to *La Voz de la Liberación*, but were it not for a fortuitous turn of events the rebel broadcasters might have made only a muffled impact. Two weeks into the operation Guatemala's state-run radio station, TGW, disappeared from the air. Perplexed, [] and Phillips soon learned from Guatemala Station that TGW was scheduled to receive a new antenna and that the government's only broadcast medium would be out of commission for three weeks.¹⁸⁰ Through an accident of timing SHERWOOD acquired a virtual propaganda monopoly during the most critical phase of operation PBSUCCESS. In late May, as Guatemalans witnessed a startling series of dark and portentous events, the largely illiterate populace turned to *La Voz de la Liberación* for news.

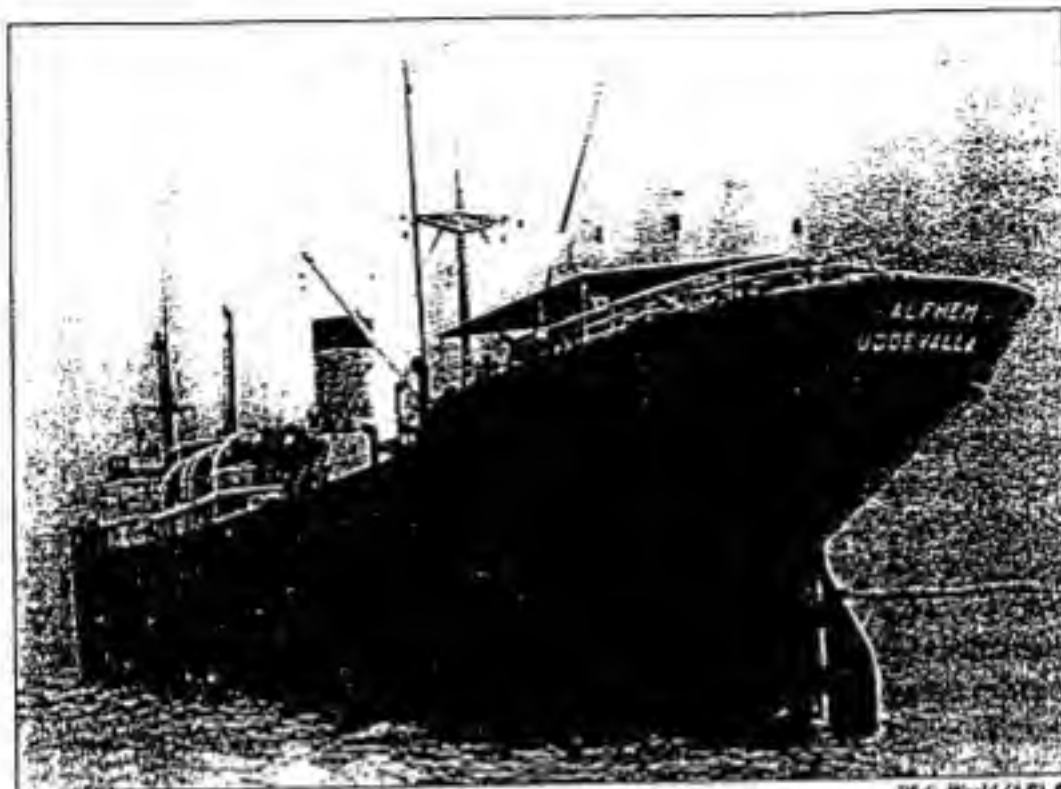
The Voyage of the Alfhem

But if SHERWOOD represented a master stroke for PBSUCCESS, Arbenz riposted with an even bolder countermove, long anticipated by CIA but a complete surprise to the public in Guatemala and the United States. On 15 May, the Swedish freighter *Alfhem* arrived at Puerto Barrios carrying thousands of tons of Czech arms. By clever deception, the ship had evaded efforts by the State Department and the CIA to stop or delay it. Following the Martínez mission, the Agency had carefully monitored international arms flows and the traffic in Guatemala's ports. On 8 April, Wisner met with State Department and Navy officials to coordinate intelligence gathering. They agreed to "take no action at this stage to deter or interfere with the shipment, but rather allow events to take their course at

¹⁷⁸[] to Chief of Station Guatemala, "SHERWOOD: Comment on Broadcasts," HUL-A-756, 12 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 103.

¹⁷⁹Phillips, *Night Watch*, p. 53. Guatemala Station's weekly "Psych Barometer Reports" were also at odds with Phillips' version, claiming that the initial sensation caused by the appearance of the clandestine radio quickly wore off. [] "Psych Intelligence Report, 10-16 May 1954," HGG-A-1121, 18 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 101.

¹⁸⁰[] "Guatemalan Radio Silence," 28 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 70.



Wide World (AP) ©

The SS Alfhem arrived at Puerto Barrios in May 1954 with 2,000 tons of Czech arms.

least to the point when exposure would be most compromising to the Guatemalans."¹⁷⁹ The following day, Wisner learned from [

] that the Bank of Guatemala had telegraphically transferred \$4,860,000 through the Union Bank of Switzerland and Stabank, Prague, to the account of Investa, a Czech firm.¹⁸⁰ No Agency official said so at the time, but the payment revealed the limits of the Communist Bloc's willingness to aid an ally in the Western Hemisphere. The Czechs would provide arms, but on a cash and carry basis.¹⁸¹ On 17 April, the Alfhem, a freighter registered to the Swedish subsidiary of a Czech shipping firm, departed the Polish port of Szczecin bound for Dakar, West Africa, en route to Central America.¹⁸²

The State Department and the Agency worked frantically to stop the shipment, which they mistakenly believed was carried in another ship, the Wulfsbrook, registered to a West German firm. Department officials tried

¹⁷⁹ Wisner to King, "Guatemalan Acquisition of Iron Curtain Arms," 8 April 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 24.

¹⁸⁰ [] LINCOLN to Chief, WH, "Financial Position of Guatemala," 493, 14 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 97.

¹⁸¹ The Guatemalan Government was fully capable of paying cash. Its foreign currency reserves in 1954 topped \$42 million. LINCOLN to Chief, WH, "Financial Position of Guatemala," 493, 14 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 97.

¹⁸² Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit*, p. 149.

to persuade the German Government to order the Wulfsbrook into port and sought help in canceling its insurance.¹⁴³ The *Alfhem* meanwhile plied a circuitous route to Central America. After a week at sea, the captain received radio orders to proceed to Curaçao in the Dutch West Indies. In the mid-Atlantic, new orders arrived diverting him to Puerto Cortés, Honduras. On 13 May, just two days out of port, he learned his real destination and steered for Guatemala. The Agency had not relied completely on the State Department to thwart the shipment. On 7 May, Wisner sent limpet mines to the sabotage training bases in Nicaragua. By the time the *Alfhem* arrived off Puerto Barrios, however, its destruction posed a ticklish diplomatic problem. The State Department's fevered activity had alerted several European governments, shipping lines, and insurance underwriters of official US interest. If the ship were sunk, it would be impossible to deny involvement.¹⁴⁴

The arms purchase handed PBSUCCESS a propaganda bonanza. On 17 May, the State Department declared that the shipment revealed Guatemala's complicity in a Soviet plan for Communist conquest in the Americas. John Foster Dulles exaggerated the size of the cargo, hinting that it would enable Guatemala to triple the size of its Army and overwhelm neighboring states. The press and Congress responded on cue. "The threat of Communist imperialism is no longer academic," proclaimed the *Washington Post*, "it has arrived." The *New York Times* warned that Communist arms would soon make their way along "secret jungle paths" to guerrilla armies throughout the Hemisphere. "If Paul Revere were living today," Representative Paul Lantaff imagined, "he would view the landing of Red arms in Guatemala as a signal to ride." House Speaker John McCormack spluttered that "this cargo of arms is like an atom bomb planted in the rear of our backyard."¹⁴⁵ These fulminations intensified the fears of many Guatemalans that the incident would provide a convenient pretext for US intervention.

The *Alfhem* incident helped break down Honduran objections to aiding PBSUCCESS. The Gálvez government viewed the shipment as connected to a major labor conflict that had broken out on United Fruit plantations on 5 May and spread throughout the country. CIA officials suspected Guatemalan involvement, noting "an unusual amount of discipline" and the presence of Guatemalan labor organizers. They admitted, however, that the strikers had the sympathy of most Hondurans while the company

¹⁴³R. G. Leddy to J. F. Dulles, "Action to prevent delivery of Czech Arms to Guatemala," 18 May 1954, Records of the Office of Middle American Affairs, General Records of the Dept. of State, Lot 58D78, Box 2, RG 59; Wisner to Lampton Berry, Policy Planning Staff, "Proposed Diversion of SS Wulfsbrook," 6 May 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 24.

¹⁴⁴Kermit Roosevelt to [] DIR 49642, 7 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 8.

¹⁴⁵Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, p. 299.

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had "practically no friends."¹⁸⁸ Honduran officials needed no proof of Guatemalan complicity, believing all labor strife to be Communist inspired. On 23 May, Gálvez asked the United States to prepare to land Marines if the situation should spin out of control. The Navy placed two warships in the Gulf of Honduras.¹⁸⁷ Castillo Armas helped by sending some of his men to provide muscle for the company.¹⁸⁸ The strike and the arms shipment persuaded Gálvez that he had little to lose by helping PBSUCCESS.

In Guatemala, [] propagandists worked to accentuate confusion caused by the landing of the Czech arms. The Alfhem's arrival intensified tensions in the capital. "The man on the street," Guatemala Station reported, "[was] rapidly becoming convinced that 'something' will soon happen." Rightist and centrist members of the government party, PAR, called for the resignation of party leaders. CEUA students predicted a Communist coup. Fearing the new weapons would close the rift between Arbenz and the military, SHERWOOD broadcast rumors that the arms were intended not for the Army but for labor unions and peasant cadres.

This rumor turned out to be true. Arbenz and the PGT had intended the Alfhem shipment to remain a secret, enabling them to divert some of the arms to workers' militias before giving the remainder to the Army. The Army, however, learned of the Martínez mission and closely watched shipping traffic at Puerto Barrios for signs of the arms' arrival.¹⁸⁹ Army units sealed off the pier as soon as the Alfhem docked, setting up a security cordon around the port area. José Angel Sánchez, the minister of defense, took personal charge of security and transportation arrangements. The President had to give up his plans for arming militias. The weapons belonged to the Army now, and taking them away would only enrage the officer corps. Soldiers loaded the crates, marked "optical equipment," on 123 flat cars for the trip to Guatemala City.¹⁹⁰ The shipment consisted of large numbers of rifles, machineguns, antitank guns, 100 howitzers, mortars, grenades, and antitank mines. Some of the weapons had been used, and many bore a swastika stamp on the metal parts. The antiquated artillery pieces had wooden

¹⁸⁸[] to Chief WHD. "Honduran Communist Activities." HHT-34, 7 July 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 107; [] "Honduran Public Opinion Favors Strikers," HUL-012, 22 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 107.

¹⁸⁹Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, p. 301.

¹⁹⁰LINCOLN to [] LINC 2960, 21 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 4.

¹⁹¹Gleijeses suggests the United States alerted the Army, but this is unlikely. Agency officials were themselves confused about the arrival of the shipment, believing until the last minute that it could be prevented. They also placed no trust in the Army, considering it penetrated by Communists. Finally, the establishment of workers militias would have substantially helped the K-Program break the military's allegiance to the government. Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, p. 304.

¹⁹²Wisner to Robert B. Anderson, Under Secretary of Defense, "Guatemalan Procurement of Arms From the Soviet Orbit," 21 June 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 24.

wheels. American military advisers, who received the first reliable reports, estimated that there was enough ammunition to last the Guatemalan Army 10 to 15 years in peacetime.¹⁹¹

[] ordered sabotage teams to destroy the Alfhem arms en route, and the mission provided the first test of Castillo Armas's forces. Three four-man teams were dispatched to dynamite railroad trestles between Puerto Barrios and Guatemala City as military trains passed over them.¹⁹² Freshly graduated from training programs at [] they carried maps [] identifying the best targets.

All three failed. The first, on 20 May, detonated a charge that damaged an engine slightly. Shots from the train slew one rebel commando, whose companions returned fire killing a Guatemalan soldier. Two other attempts, on 23 and 25 May either failed to reach the target or inflict damage.¹⁹³ The arms reached the capital safely on the 26th.

Arbenz had momentarily outwitted the Agency, but by so doing he removed the constraints on the Agency's ability to retaliate. Before the Alfhem incident, David Phillips observed, there was still a chance that Holland or another official in the State Department would pull the plug on PBSUCCESS. The arms shipment "clearly defined the issue: Guatemala had received arms from Russia, thus Guatemala and Russia were playing footsie. From that point, there was no question of the nature of the target, only the question of how soon and in what manner it would be destroyed."¹⁹⁴

Operation HARDROCK

The Alfhem incident touched off a massive escalation of the US effort to intimidate the Guatemalan Government. The State Department concluded a military assistance agreement with Honduras and began shipping planes and tanks to Tegucigalpa. On 24 May, the Navy provided a more daunting indicator of US resolve in operation HARDROCK BAKER, the sea blockade of Guatemala. Submarines and warships patrolled the sea approaches to Guatemala, stopping all ships and searching for arms. The task force was instructed to damage vessels if necessary to make them stop. Ships transiting the Panama Canal en route to Guatemala were detained

¹⁹¹ [] to LINCOLN, "Information re Alfhem Arms Shipment," HGG-A-1162, 28 May 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 24; King to Dulles, "Quality and Future Disposition of Arms Received by Guatemala from the Ship Alfhem," 16 December 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23; Wisner to Holland, "Guatemalan Arms Acquisition," 21 June 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 24. CIA had only a sketchy idea of the numbers of actual arms but a firm idea of their weight (4,122,145 pounds) and value (approximately \$5 million).

¹⁹² Wisner, "Thoughts and Possible Courses of Action concerning latest Developments in PBSUCCESS—Arrival of the Alfhem [sic]," 18 May 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 24.

¹⁹³ See LINCOLN cables 2900-3099, Job 79-01025A, Boxes 4 and 5.

¹⁹⁴ Debriefing Report, David Atlee Phillips, [undated], Job 79-01025A, Box 167.

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and searched. The blockade's blatant illegality made it a powerful weapon of intimidation. The United States stopped and boarded French and British freighters in defiance of international law. France and Britain muted their protests in hopes that the United States would show similar restraint with regard to their colonial troubles in the Middle East. The message to Guatemala was clear: If the United States would violate freedom of the seas, it would not be stopped by so feeble an instrument as the nonintervention clause of the Rio Pact.¹⁹²

PBSUCCESS, too, stepped up the pressure on the Army. On 26 May, one of Castillo Armas's warplanes flew low over the capital, buzzed the presidential palace and dropped leaflets in front of the headquarters of the presidential guard. The leaflets encouraged members of the Guardia to "Struggle against Communist atheism, Communist intervention, Communist oppression. . . . Struggle with your patriotic brothers! Struggle with Castillo Armas!"¹⁹³ "I suppose it doesn't really matter what the leaflets say," Barnes acknowledged. The real message was conveyed by the plane itself, an intimidating weapon in a region that had never witnessed aerial warfare.¹⁹⁴ "If they had been napalm bombs and not leaflets, we wouldn't be here to talk about it," one editorialist observed. Leaflet drops on successive days were widely interpreted as practice bombing runs.¹⁹⁵

By the first week of June the population of Guatemala City expected an invasion any day. Ambassadors left town "on urgent orders" from their governments. The labor union federation placed its members on alert against "reactionary elements." Somoza severed diplomatic relations. On 5 June, the retired Chief of Staff of the Air Force, Rodolfo Mendoza Azurdia, fled in a small plane[

In agony, the government and the PGT sought a way out. Arbenz offered Gálvez a nonaggression pact and asked to meet with Eisenhower to relieve tensions, but neither request elicited a response. The PGT, meanwhile, had begun to disintegrate. After the Caracas conference, Fortuny had voiced concerns that the party had gone "beyond what was realistically possible," advancing its program to an extent that endangered the state. He called for "self-restraint," a pause in the agrarian reform, and urged Communists in high government positions to resign. Even as he did so, he was plagued by

¹⁹²Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 312-313; [] to Graham L. Page, "K-Program," HUL-A-989, 6 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 103.

¹⁹³[] to Chief of Station Guatemala, "Intended Leaflet Drop," HUL-A-893, 23 May 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 103.

¹⁹⁴[] interview by Nick Cullather, tape recording, Washington, DC, 19 June 1993 (hereafter cited as [] interview). Recording on file in the DCI History Staff Office, CIA.

¹⁹⁵Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 309-310.



Leaflet dropped on 26 May. "Struggle With Your Patriotic Brothers! Struggle With Castillo Armas!"

self-doubt and the near certainty that he was asking for too little, too late. Other leaders refused to listen. [] propaganda attacks had whittled the party's membership down to an unmovable core, unafraid and prepared to follow the revolution to the end.¹⁹⁹ News of Fortuny's resignation reached Agency officials in the first week of June, leaving them perplexed. Accustomed to dealing with iron-willed totalitarians, they were unused to seeing an adversary flounder in the face of insurmountable problems and self-doubt.

Desperate, the regime lashed out at its internal opposition. On 8 June, Arbenz suspended civil liberties and began a roundup of suspected subversives. Police arrested 480 persons in the first two weeks of June, holding them at military bases. Many were tortured. On 14 June, one of the few survivors of the CEUA group found the mutilated and charred body of [] in the city morgue.²⁰⁰ Barnes admitted that the net had

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 283-286.

²⁰⁰ [unsigned], "Informal Memorandum," 23 June 1954, Leddy file, Job 79-01025A, Box 81.

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"suffered losses" and suggested that it be reorganized for the operation's final phase, but there was nothing left to organize.²⁰¹ Some 75 detainees were killed and buried in mass graves in the regime's final days.

The Invasion

It was already muggy at 7:00 A.M. on 15 June when [] pulled into a driveway alongside a [] house belonging to [] [] wasn't used to the heat. He had replaced Tranger as Chief of Guatemala Station in early May, right at the beginning of the rainy season, when the mornings broke hot and the predictable afternoon showers brought no relief. [] was breathing down his neck for results on the military defection project, the "K-Program," and [] had opted for the coldest of cold approaches. He would go to [] house, ring the doorbell, and ask the man to stage a coup. Minutes later, in [] []'s house, he bluntly explained what [] always called the "facts of life." The time had come for [] to "get moving and take over the Army." This was "the last opportunity for the Army to salvage its honor and even its existence." [] listened, nodding in agreement. He was ready to help, he told [] but he would need some assistance in return. Arbenz still exercised a great deal of control over the officer corps [] If Castillo Armas would have [] [] would start the coup. That would not be possible, [] replied. The times called for courage, for taking risks. [] would have to do things for himself. The two men agreed to meet again the following day.²⁰²

The K-Program presented a paradox for PBSUCCESS. [] believed the operation could not succeed without an Army revolt, but his efforts to bully and frighten the officer corps into action left the military's leaders divided and cowed. No *caudillo* emerged to lead soldiers against the government, and as the operation wore on it appeared less likely that one would emerge. Early on, [] had picked [] as the most likely candidate. He had threatened to revolt; he was ambitious and opportunistic. Peurifoy vouched for his anti-Communism. When the time came, however, [] demanded more than he offered. At the second meeting, he told [] that he had consulted [] and the two had agreed that "a spectacle of force" would be needed to swing the Army to the side of the opposition. Labor unions had organized progovernment demonstrations for the following day. If Castillo

²⁰¹Barnes to PBSUCCESS Headquarters, HUL-A-986, 16 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 103.

²⁰²Guatemala Station to Director, [] Job 79-01025A, Box 11.

Armas could drop a bomb in the infield of the hippodrome, tear gas the crowd, and buzz Arbenz's house, the Army would act. [] considered this a reasonable request and promised to provide a suitable display.²⁰³

[] Barnes, and Wisner were less willing to accommodate a weak-kneed *caudillo*. An aerial display would prove US involvement, since few Central American governments, let alone rebel movements, could mount a bombing mission. [] told [] the air show was off and instructed him to go over the facts of life one more time with []. [] had other ways to put pressure on the Army. In his calculations, Castillo Armas [] would soon be in competition, each trying to topple Arbenz first. PBSUCCESS now had "two strings in its bow," he told Allen Dulles, Castillo Armas and his forces on the Honduran border, and [] uprising in the capital. Both options would be pursued "since they do not become mutually exclusive until after the disposition of the present regime." Even if Castillo Armas suffered setbacks, his invasion would create the turmoil necessary for [] to seize control. Likewise, if [] failed, his rebellion would still immobilize the Army long enough to allow Castillo Armas to make gains in the countryside. Even "assuming Castillo Armas's defeat or assuming [] failure, there is no problem."²⁰⁴

The invasion plan went into effect on 15 June, the day [] made his cold approach. Divided into four teams, Castillo Armas's 480 "shock troops" arrived at staging areas on the Guatemalan border near the Honduran towns of Florida, Nueva Ocotepeque, Copán, and Macuelizo. From these areas they were to proceed to the border, arriving near midnight on the 17th. The plan called for four rebel bands to make five separate incursions into Guatemala in order to project the impression of an attack across a broad front and to minimize the chance that the entire force could be routed in a single encounter. The largest force, 198 soldiers, would cross the border near Macuelizo and attack the heavily guarded port city of Puerto Barrios. A group of 122 rebels would proceed from a base near Florida, Honduras, and march on Zacapa, the Guatemalan Army's largest frontier garrison. Castillo Armas would command a group of 100 soldiers split between base areas in Copán and Nueva Ocotepeque. These forces would seize the lightly defended border towns of Esquipulas, Quezaltepeque, and Chiquimula before uniting and marching on the capital. Meanwhile, a smaller force of 60 soldiers would cross into El Salvador and invade Guatemala from the *finca* of []

From there they would attack the provincial capital of Jutupa (El Salvador)

²⁰³Guatemala Station to Director, GUAT 874, 17 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 11.

²⁰⁴LINCOLN to Director, LINC 3824, 15 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 5

Invasion Plan, 18 June 1954



had refused to allow Castillo Armas to invade from its territory.⁷⁹ In addition to these regular troops, 10 trained saboteurs would fan out into the countryside ahead of the invading troops, blowing up railroads and cutting telegraph lines.⁸⁰ The rebels were to avoid direct confrontation with the Guatemalan Army, which would unify the officer corps and lead to a quick defeat of the rebellion. Harassing raids in remote areas would enable the

⁷⁹ LINCOLN to Director, LINC 3937, 16 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

rebels to keep a force intact while sowing panic in the capital and prodding the military to act. Rebel aircraft were instructed to avoid hitting military targets.

Even before H-hour, the invasion degenerated from an ambitious plan to tragicomedy. Salvadoran policemen spotted the Jutiapa force on a road outside Santa Ana on the afternoon of 17 June and decided to take a look. They discovered 21 machineguns, rifles, and grenades hidden in a wagon the men were riding. The police arrested the entire group and threw them in the Santa Ana jail.²⁰⁶ Castillo Armas eventually got them deported to Honduras but without their weapons. Jutiapa was spared. Later that evening the Chiquimula force engaged in the first action of the campaign. Approaching the border near Esquipulas, they were surprised to discover a border guard and a customs official stationed on the previously unguarded road. They captured the soldier and shot the customs official. He was the first Guatemalan casualty.²⁰⁷

Dressed in a leather jacket and checked shirt and driving a battered station wagon, Castillo Armas led his troops across the border at 8:20 P.M. on 18 June. At about the same time, his planes, in partial fulfillment of [] request, buzzed the progovernment demonstrations at the railroad station in Guatemala City. SHERWOOD told its listeners that "there are reports of a battle at Esquipulas, but we do not yet have a tally of the dead."²⁰⁸ Castillo Armas led the Chiquimula detachment, the one thought least likely to encounter serious resistance. On foot, and encumbered by weapons and supplies, the rebels made slow progress, and it would be some days before they actually captured Esquipulas, a few miles from the border.

Meanwhile, [] continued to demand the bombing of the race track. With the invasion under way, [] was even less inclined to satisfy what he considered a frivolous demand. He told Bissell he was ready to give up on [] believing he could accomplish the Army's "intimidation or actual defeat through air to ground action supported by shock forces." Wisner and Bissell quickly brought him back to reality. The "entire issue in our opinion will turn on the position taken by the Guatemalan forces," they warned. If the rebels attacked Army garrisons, they would succeed only in uniting the military behind Arbenz. And even if the Army could be intimidated into inaction, police units and labor organizations could round up the small rebel force with little trouble.²⁰⁹ With only one string in its bow, PBSUCCESS would fail. "Our next move," Dulles told [] "should be to exert all possible influence to persuade the Army that their next target must be Arbenz himself if they are themselves to survive. . . . If the Army acts it, not Castillo Armas will rule the country."²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ LINCOLN to Director, LINC 4065, 19 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

²⁰⁷ LINCOLN to Director, LINC 3997, 18 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

²⁰⁸ Phillips, *Night Watch*, p. 58.

²⁰⁹ Richard Bissell to [] DIR 05705, 19 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 9; Wisner to [] DIR 05535, 18 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 9.

²¹⁰ Dulles to [] DIR 05857, 21 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 9.



Castillo Armas leaves his headquarters on the night of the invasion.

[] continued to negotiate with [] while [] stepped up the air war. On 19 June, rebel planes blew up a railroad bridge at Gualán. Cargo planes dropped pallets of arms over the Guatemalan countryside to persuade the Army that a fifth column was ready to rise against the government. Guatemala Station reported that the city was "clearing rapidly. Cars, carts, tearing to outskirts. Fear, expectation spreading."²¹¹ But [] remained stubbornly inert.

The initial panic generated by the invasion and air attacks wore off as Guatemalans realized nothing would happen immediately. On the 20th, Guatemala Station cabled that the government was "recovering its nerve." "Capital very still, stores shuttered. People waiting apathetically, consider uprising a farce, some even speculating it a government provocation."²¹² Castillo Armas's invaders were not making the sort of bold strikes needed to inspire terror in the capital. On the 20th his forces captured Esquipulas, barely three miles from the border and defended only by a small police force.²¹³ Meanwhile a column of 122 rebels approaching Zacapa from the

²¹¹LINCOLN to SHERWOOD, LINC 4036, 19 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

²¹²Guatemala Station to Director, GUAT 921, 20 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 11.

²¹³LINCOLN to Director, LINC 4153, 21 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.



Engaging the enemy in Guatemala. The rebels were lightly armed with weapons of Soviet design.

northeast encountered a small garrison of 30 soldiers led by Lt. César Augusto Silva Girón at the small town of Gualán. Without instructions or reinforcements from the larger garrison at Zacapa, Girón engaged the rebels in a 36-hour firefight, forcing them to flee toward La Unión, between Gualán and Zacapa. Only 30 rebels escaped death or capture. The casualties included their commanding officer. The survivors reported that they had been "decisively defeated" by a superior force.²¹⁴

The following day, the rebels' largest force suffered a colossal defeat at Puerto Barrios. Twenty insurgents landed a boat on the waterfront as 150 of their compatriots attacked the town from the east. Policemen and hastily armed dock workers rounded up the amphibious force and ran off the remainder, who fled across the border to San Miguel Correderos, Honduras, and refused to rejoin the fray. After repeated requests for a report, the defeated rebels turned off their radios and dispersed.²¹⁵ Their loss cost Castillo Armas almost half his regular army. After three days in action, two of the invasion's four prongs had been turned back (one by the Salvadoran police), and one had been halted by minor resistance.

In an effort to recover momentum, [] authorized air attacks on the capital the following day, but the results were unimpressive. A single plane, flying above 1,000 feet, managed to hit a small oil tank on the city outskirts igniting a fire that was doused in 20 minutes. [] described the attack as a "pathetic" gesture that left the public with an impression of "incredible weakness, lack of decision, fainthearted effort."²¹⁶

²¹⁴Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 326-327; LINCOLN to Director, "Daily Sitrep No. 13," LINC 4440, 27 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

²¹⁵*Ibid.*; LINCOLN to Director, LINC 4477, 28 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6; LINCOLN to Director, "Daily Sitrep No. 9," LINC 4229, 23 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

²¹⁶LINCOLN to SHERWOOD, LINC 4194, 22 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

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Attempts to use aircraft for propaganda advantage were hampered by Castillo Armas's persistent demands for air support. Ensnared at Esquipulas, he reported his situations as "very grave as result two pronged enemy attacks from Zacapa and from Jutiapa via Ipala." If he did not receive "heavy bombardment" on these fronts, he would be "forced to abandon everything."²¹⁷

Challenge at the UN

As Monzón dallied and Castillo Armas faltered, PBSUCCESS faced another, potentially fatal challenge on the diplomatic front. On 18 June, the day of the invasion, Guatemalan foreign minister Guillermo Toriello petitioned the UN security council to intervene to stop the outside aggression he blamed on Nicaragua, Honduras, and the United Fruit Company. On 20 June, the council approved a French motion enjoining all member nations to refrain from aiding the insurgency. John Foster Dulles was furious, but to save appearances he had to support the measure. On the 21st, Toriello asked the Security Council to take "whatever steps are necessary" to enforce the resolution.²¹⁸ The prospect that the council could dispatch a factfinding mission to Guatemala touched off a flurry of meetings and phone calls between Wisner, the Dulles brothers, Assistant Secretary Henry Holland, the President, and Henry Cabot Lodge, the US delegate to the UN. Eisenhower was ready to use the veto. The United States had never before vetoed a security council resolution and the first use would mean a grave propaganda defeat. Wisner argued that the United States should allow some kind of an inspection mission and then try to control it. The US should get the OAS Peace Council designated as the body of first recourse. "Friendly" delegates from the United States, Brazil, and Cuba dominated the council. If the UN insisted on sending its own mission, the United States should direct it to investigate the "causes" of the rebellion, including the Alfhem shipment, land reform, and the Communist influence in government.²¹⁹ Lodge adopted this position, but Holland and other State Department officials remained apprehensive about international press reaction.

²¹⁷LINCOLN to Director, LINC 4499, 28 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.
²¹⁸[] Assistant Director for Current Intelligence, to A. Dulles, "Significance of the June 20 UN Security Council Meeting," 21 June 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 24.

²¹⁹Wisner, "Memorandum of Ideas Developed in Meeting in Mr. Murphy's Office Concerning Guatemalan Situation," 21 June 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 24; Wisner to Holland, "Recommendations for Use in Connection with Further Proceedings in the United Nations and/or the OAS Peace Commission; Guatemala," 22 June 1954, *ibid.*; [] "Intelligence Provided Department of State Concerning Guatemala," 20 July 1954, *ibid.*; [] Assistant Director Current Intelligence, to Allen Dulles, "Significance of the 20 June UN Security Council Meeting," 21 June 1954, *ibid.*

For much of the world, the spring of 1954 seemed to carry a real chance for the two superpowers to ease world tensions after eight years of Cold War. Stalin had died in February 1953, and the new Soviet administration appeared less sinister and more ready to reach accommodations. In May 1954, the superpowers met to arrange a settlement of the difficult Indochina and Formosa disputes at the Geneva Conference. In the following weeks, however, tensions did not ease, and some in the international press blamed the Eisenhower administration for what was seen as a lost opportunity. Some generally pro-Western newspapers regarded Guatemala's plight as further proof that the United States had adopted a needlessly truculent posture. A former British Labor Government minister, Aneurin Bevan, not surprisingly wrote a column headlined "Guatemalan Invasion is Plot to Save American Property," which played prominently in *The Times of India* and other newspapers. On the morning of 18 June, CBS News aired a segment on the adverse reaction in Britain, quoting an official who observed that "despite the United Fruit Company, the United States does not yet own all of Central America and the Caribbean."²²⁰ *Pravda* explained the invasion as an attempt by the United States to reignite the Cold War. USIA stations in Germany, Japan, and the Middle East reported the sympathy of the local press for Guatemala and the universal assumption of US complicity in the invasion. Even news organs unsympathetic to Arbenz—like the Iranian state press—acknowledged with certainty that the rebellion had US support. These reports made State Department officials nervous, and their jitters spread to the Agency. [] staff was "terrified" that the Guatemalans would make such a ruckus in international forums that Henry Holland or other State Department officials would pull the plug.²²¹

The Agency, meanwhile, took steps to ensure that coverage in the American press had a favorable slant. Peurifoy met with American reporters in Guatemala City to discuss "the type of stories they were writing." At his suggestion, "all agreed to drop words such as 'invasion.'" The French and British consuls agreed to have a word with their correspondents.²²² Agency officials had earlier managed to have Sydney Gruson, the *New York Times* correspondent, reexpelled from Guatemala. In the wake of the Alfhem incident, Arbenz allowed Gruson back into the country. [] staff complained that after his return Gruson's reports parroted "Foreign Minister Toriello's statements regarding the Guatemalan position

²²⁰ Wisner to Holland, "British Attitude Toward the Guatemalan Situation," 18 June 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

²²¹ For international press reaction see Bonn to USIA, 22 June 1954; the Hague to Secretary of State, 22 June 1954; New Delhi to Secretary of State, 25 June 1954, all three in Job 79-01025A, Box 82; Huntington D. Sheldon to Allen Dulles, "Significance of 20 June UN Security Council Meeting," 21 June 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 24. [] interview.

²²² Peurifoy to Willaver and Holland, GUAT 940, 23 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 11.

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on arms purchases and denial of complicity in the Honduran strikes." [] Speculated that either Arbenz had extracted a quid pro quo in exchange for lifting the expulsion, or that Gruson was unwilling to risk offending Guatemalan officials a second time. He plumbed Agency files and found that two years earlier Gruson had attended parties in Mexico City at which Czechoslovak diplomats had been present. He took this evidence to Dulles, and the Director passed it on to Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the *Times*, who reassigned Gruson.²²³ During the battle for Guatemala, stories in the *Times* originated in Mexico City.

The Jaws of Defeat

Prospects for a rebel victory steadily dimmed after the defeats at Gualán and Puerto Barrios. [] and his staff, unable to influence the events on which the outcome of PBSUCCESS now seemed to depend, relayed daily reports to Headquarters detailing the dwindling fortunes of Castillo Armas's forces. On the 23rd, the bulk of the *liberacionistas* remained at Esquipulas with their commander, while an advance party entered Chiquimula and traded shots with the Army barracks there. Remnants of the force defeated at Gualán and detachments from Esquipulas broke into bands of 10 to 20 men and scattered among the small towns surrounding Zacapa, Teculután, Vado Hondo, and Jocotán. From these positions, the rebels could observe large numbers of government troops moving by rail to Zacapa.²²⁴

Historians have debated the question of whether substantial numbers of sympathizers joined Castillo Armas's forces in the field.²²⁵ There is no

²²³ [] "Reporting on Guatemala by *New York Times* Correspondent Sydney Gruson," 27 May 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23; [] in PBSUCCESS Headquarters, "Sydney Gruson," HUL-A-1118, 2 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 10; [] Jr., "Sydney Gruson," 2 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 104. Harrison Salisbury has alleged that Dulles "deliberately deceived" Sulzberger in order to get rid of Gruson, and that "Gruson was too good a reporter. He might spill the beans." In fact, [] was not worried about Gruson's investigative talents. He wanted at all costs to keep Toriello's version of events out of the newspapers during the UN debate, and he feared Gruson was more susceptible to official pressure than other correspondents. Dulles claimed he did not suggest a course of action to Sulzberger, and that "our interest in this individual was only to pass on the information we had obtained about him and any action taken thereon is the responsibility of Mr. Sulzberger." Deputies' Meeting, 10 June 1954, Dulles papers, Job 80B-01676R, Box 23.
²²⁴ LINCOLN to Director, "Daily Sitrep No. 9," LINC 4229, 23 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

²²⁵ Frederick Marks, "The CIA and Castillo Armas in Guatemala, 1954: New Clues to an Old Puzzle," *Diplomatic History* 14 (Winter 1990): 70. Marks alleges that "it is clear that as Castillo Armas advanced, his ranks were swelled by a massive influx of ranchers, peasants, and other sympathizers who together posed a real threat to the regular army."

doubt that [] strategy relied on such reinforcements. The original invasion force numbered only 480 and was broken into smaller contingents that would be outnumbered in a fight with even a small Guatemalan Army garrison. These original soldiers were intended to be the core of a larger force that would spontaneously rise and join Castillo Armas as he marched on the capital. Preparations were made for weapons to be airdropped to the swelling ranks. Agency records reveal that recruits did join Castillo Armas, and in substantial numbers, but only in places where the *liberacionistas* met no resistance. Where the rebels were engaged in actual combat, no recruits materialized and the original force suffered high rates of desertion. On the 21st, Castillo Armas had asked for supplies for 500 additional men at Esquipulas.²²⁶ His forces there and in Chiquimula eventually came to comprise 1,200 men, all receiving food and weapons from airdrops. In the vicinity of Zacapa, however, where regular Army units constantly threatened rebel bands, the number of insurrectionists dropped from 180 to 30 between 23 and 29 June.²²⁷ The recruits taxed the operation's overburdened supply system without allowing Castillo Armas to strike effectively at the enemy.

The Arbenz regime, meanwhile, laid plans to destroy Castillo Armas. The victories at Puerto Barrios and Gualán gave Arbenz confidence that the Army would do its duty and crush the invasion. He asked Díaz to allow the rebels to penetrate into the interior of the country unopposed. Neither man feared Castillo Armas's ragtag army, but both considered the invasion part of a larger US plan to create a pretext for direct intervention. They chose a strategy designed to defeat the rebels without furnishing a justification for landing the Marines. On 19 June, most of the soldiers of the Base Militar and the Guardia de Honor left by rail for Zacapa, where they were ordered to wait and engage the rebel army when it arrived. When Castillo Armas's scouts reached the outskirts of Zacapa, they found trainloads of soldiers and supplies arriving hourly in the already heavily occupied town. These war preparations masked the profound demoralization afflicting the officers responsible for saving the country. Like Arbenz, they feared US intervention, but unlike the president, they placed little faith in the ability of the United Nations to restrain Eisenhower. Sitting in Zacapa, they ruminated on the likely consequences of defeating Castillo Armas, murmuring that Marines might already be landing in Honduras.²²⁸

²²⁶LINCOLN to Director, LINC 4153, 21 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

²²⁷Compare LINCOLN to Director, "Daily Sitrep No. 9," LINC 4229, 23 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6, with LINCOLN to Director, "Daily Sitrep Number 14," LINC 4507, 29 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

²²⁸LINCOLN to Director, LINC 4412, 27 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6; Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 334-340.

Actual Invasion, Late June 1954



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The Communists were the first to warn Arbenz that the Army would not defend the government. On 23 June, a PGT official visited Zacapa and found the officers cowering in their barracks, terrified and unwilling to fight. Fortuny reported the situation to Arbenz two days later. In disbelief, Arbenz sent a trusted officer to speak to the field commanders. He returned with the same report and a message. The officers "think that the Americans are threatening Guatemala just because of you and your Communist

friends. If you don't resign, the Army will march on the capital to depose you." He predicted that if Arbenz did not act quickly, the Army would strike a bargain with Castillo Armas. Confirmation arrived later that day with the news that the 150-man Chiquimula garrison had surrendered to the rebels without a fight.²²⁹

Agency stations in Guatemala City, [] and [] never learned what happened at Zacapa. [] and Peurifoy were convinced that only [] could induce the Army to betray Arbenz, and [] remained in the capital, ignorant of the treason of his brother officers. For [] and other Agency observers in Miami and Washington, what happened in the next few days seemed curious and magical. Just as the entire operation seemed beyond saving, the Guatemalan Government suddenly, inexplicably collapsed. The Agency never found out why. After the conclusion of PBSUCCESS, no one asked captured Guatemalan officials what happened in the regime's final days. Instead, an Agency legend developed, promoted by Bissell and other officials close to the operation, that Arbenz "lost his nerve" as a result of the psychological pressure of air attacks and radio propaganda.²³⁰ In fact, Arbenz was deposed in a military coup, and neither the radio nor the air attacks had much to do with it. It was natural, however, for PBSUCCESS officers to feel these elements had been decisive. In the operation's last days, they were all that was left.

As Arbenz learned the horrible truth, [] struggled with setbacks of his own. By 23 June, he judged the K-Program a failure and decided that the only remaining chance for success lay in a military victory. "Army defection now considered a matter of a test of arms," he cabled Headquarters.²³¹ He ordered CAT pilots to attack military targets, countermanding previous orders to spare the Army while defection efforts were under way. Informing Dulles that "airpower could be decisive" in the ensuing days, he asked for additional fighter aircraft. That day, the Director met at the White House with Eisenhower and Holland. The latter strongly opposed sending planes to Castillo Armas, a move that would confirm US involvement and violate a Security Council resolution approved by the United States. Eisenhower listened to these objections and then asked Dulles what chance the rebels would have without the aircraft.

"About zero," the Director replied.

"Suppose we supply the aircraft," the President asked. "What would be the chances then?"

²²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 332-333.

²³⁰Oral history interview with Richard M. Bissell, Jr., 5 June 1967, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Job 85-0664R, Box 5.

²³¹LINCOLN to Director, "Daily Sitrep No. 9," LINC 4229, 23 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

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"About 20 percent," Dulles allowed. The President considered the answer realistic and gave the order to send two fighters. "If you'd said 90 percent," he later told Dulles, "I'd have said no."²²² Unknown to both men, the chances of success were substantially higher. The Guatemalan Army had given Arbenz its ultimatum before the all-out air offensive began.

The aircraft had little apparent effect on the situation in the field. Pilots found most of their World War II surplus bombs failed to explode. Strafing produced the best results, but still failed to prevent or delay the Army buildup in Zacapa. Rebel planes strafed troop trains, exploding the boilers of several. The troops, however, continued toward their destination on foot. Repeated strafing runs would scatter but not deter them. Bombing runs on Zacapa also had no visible effect on the concentration of forces there. In a final attempt to spurt [] rebel planes successfully bombed the Matamoros fortress in downtown Guatemala City on 25 June, touching off secondary explosions, but [] continued to wait. With the gloves off, the mercenary aviators became overenthusiastic in their choice of targets. One dropped his load on a British freighter, the *Springford*, in port at San José. This time the bombs exploded, sending the vessel to the bottom, an unfortunate incident for which the Agency later had to pay \$1 million in restitution.²²³

[] augmented the air strikes with intensified radio propaganda, breaking into military channels and broadcasting stories of reverses at the front, without discernible effect. The capture of Chiquimula provided a momentary bright spot, but [] recognized that Castillo Armas owed his successes to the Guatemalan Army's restraint. If the Army moved, the rebellion would be crushed.²²⁴ [] worried, too, about Toriello's diplomatic offensive. On the 25th, he foresaw a "serious possibility that cease fire may be enforced soon and inspection teams sent" to Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. He instructed Castillo Armas to try to "obtain the most advantageous position prior to any cessation of hostilities."²²⁵

²²²Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change, 1953-1956* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1963), pp. 425-426.

²²³[Unsigned] to Leddy, 14 July 1954, Leddy file, Job 79-01025A, Box 81. The blame for this incident can be distributed across a wide front. Somoza told PBSUCCESS pilots at Puerto Cabezas on the 27th that the *Springford* was unloading fuel and arms (in fact, it was loading cotton). A bombing run on San José's fuel tanks was scheduled for that day, and []

the Agency officer in charge, did not instruct the pilot "specifically to avoid hitting any shipping." [] requested authority to bomb the British vessel from [] initiating a discussion between [] in Florida, and Barnes, at Langley, over whether bombing of international shipping would further the economic warfare objectives of PBSUCCESS. They finally decided not to authorize the bombing "at present," but by then the pilot was airborne. LINCOLN to Director, LINC 4509, 29 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

²²⁴LINCOLN to Director, "Sitrep No. 10," LINC 4271, 24 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6; LINCOLN to Director, "Sitrep No. 11," LINC 4368, 26 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6; LINCOLN to Director, "Sitrep No. 12," LINC 4319, 25 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

²²⁵LINCOLN to Director, "Sitrep No. 12," LINC 4319, 25 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

Although Guatemalan troops remained quartered at Zacapa garrison, Castillo Armas faced a growing threat from police and armed peasants. On 26 June, nearly all of the widely dispersed rebel units radioed pleas for air strikes against armed opponents.²³⁶ The following day, Castillo Armas mounted an attack on Ipala and was turned back. He reported a "strong column" moving from Ipala to Quezaltepeque to sever his line of retreat from Chiquimula.²³⁷ Although he was fighting a guerrilla campaign, Castillo Armas conceptualized his position in conventional terms, and sought with his tiny army to seize and occupy territory. His response to an attack on any of his "fronts" was to demand an air strike. Agency officials tired of these demands and of the rebel commander's preference for frontal assaults on populated areas, which usually ended in disaster. Bissell and Wisner wanted the rebels to remain in the countryside, broken into small contingents that would strike and melt away in true guerrilla fashion. In that way the rebels could keep the Army occupied while eliminating the chance of losing their entire force in a single disastrous encounter. On 28 June, Bissell ordered [] to try to get Castillo Armas to change tactics.²³⁸

There was no need. Castillo Armas's troops had done their job. On 25 June, Arbenz had summoned his Cabinet, party officials, and union leaders to inform them that the Army was in revolt and that the only hope was to arm the populace. Díaz and union leaders agreed to cooperate, but the following day no citizen army materialized. Union members had previously fought for the government alongside the Army, but the prospect of fighting *both* the Army and Castillo Armas was too daunting. SHERWOOD was broadcasting that columns of rebel troops were converging on the capital. Only a handful showed up to ask for arms, but there were none available. Díaz reneged on his promise. He was closeted with Sánchez, Monzón, and other military leaders plotting to seize power for themselves.²³⁹

The Capitulation

Peurifoy met with the plotters on the afternoon of 27 June and learned that they planned to take power that night. They promised to "move immediately on seizing commie leaders and sending them out of the country," but they refused to deal with Castillo Armas, and asked

²³⁶LINCOLN to Director, LINC 4931, 26 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

²³⁷LINCOLN to Director, LINC 4477, 28 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

²³⁸Bissell to LINCOLN, DIR 06786, 28 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 9.

²³⁹Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope* pp. 342-345.

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Peurifoy to arrange a cease-fire. The Ambassador wanted Arbenz out but he did not intend to "become part of another Mihailovich-Tito deal." He did not "trust the Army leaders, either on anti-Communism or on keeping faith with the United States. They are collaborators with Communism and must pay penalty in form Castillo Armas assumption of presidency." He remained silent, allowing the colonels to think they would be allowed to take power with US consent.³⁴⁰ [] ordered a "maximum air show" over Guatemala City for the following afternoon.³⁴¹

That evening at 8:00 Arbenz announced his resignation. He was turning over executive power to Colonel Díaz, he explained, "because I am certain he will guarantee democracy in Guatemala and all the social conquests of our people will be maintained." "The enemy who commands the bands of foreign mercenaries recruited by Castillo Armas is not only weak but completely cowardly" as was proven at Puerto Barrios and Gualán. He expressed full confidence that, with the Army united behind Díaz, the rebels would be quickly routed.³⁴² He had not "cracked." Díaz had persuaded him that an arrangement—a "Mihailovich-Tito deal" in Peurifoy's words—could be reached that would allow the Army to coopt and then discard Castillo Armas. By turning over power to the military, Arbenz hoped to salvage most of the gains of the 1944 revolution while defeating the rebellion and defusing US opposition.

Moments later, Díaz took the microphone and proclaimed that he was seizing power in the name of the Revolution of 1944, and that the Army would continue the fight against Castillo Armas. "We have been double-crossed," Peurifoy cabled Headquarters. Díaz, Sánchez, and Monzón formed a junta that retained in power most of the Arbenz Cabinet. When Peurifoy asked if they would negotiate with the rebels, the junta leaders "evaded all issues, praised their own anti-Communism, slandered Castillo Armas." They warned Fortuny and other Communist leaders to seek asylum in foreign embassies. Peurifoy cabled Washington to "urgently recommend bombing Guatemala City. . . . Bombs would persuade them fast."³⁴³

That night [] and [] who had arrived in Guatemala City for the denouement, decided to do some persuading of their own. At 6:00 in the morning, they called on Díaz to give him an update on the facts of life. [] began to spell out the importance of

³⁴⁰Peurifoy to Willauer, GUAT 986, 28 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 11.

³⁴¹LINCOLN to Director, "Daily Star No. 14," LINC 4472, 28 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

³⁴²Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit*, pp. 199-200.

³⁴³Guatemala Station to Director, GUAT 992, 28 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 6.

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acting quickly against the Communists. [] interrupted him. "Colonel," he explained, "you are not convenient for American foreign policy."²⁴⁴ Díaz had to hear it from Peurifoy himself, and a few hours later the Ambassador confirmed [] interpretation of American foreign policy. The colonel grudgingly stepped aside.

With Díaz out of the way, Peurifoy decided the Agency ought to step aside and allow the State Department to negotiate with Guatemalan officials. He asked Wisner to "have a little talk" with [] who had done an "outstanding job" but needed now to "retire more to the background."²⁴⁵ On 30 June, Wisner sent [] a message known afterwards as the "shift of gears cable." With hostilities concluded and a settlement in sight, he observed, the Station should concern itself with activities "for which this Agency is more strictly responsible and peculiarly qualified." The time had come "for the surgeons to step back and the nurses to take over the patient." All questions of policy and matters that could be handled overtly should be dealt with by the State Department. Agency officials would stay on to collect captured documents and continue propaganda activities in support of Castillo Armas.²⁴⁶ PBSUCCESS was over.

In the 11 days after Arbenz's resignation five successive juntas occupied the presidential palace, each more amenable to American demands than the last. Peurifoy wanted a junta that included both Castillo Armas and Monzón. Substantive issues like land reform disappeared after the first two coups, and discussion centered on ways to satisfy the pride of the two military groups. Castillo Armas wanted to march into Guatemala City at the head of his men. Monzón refused to allow a triumphal march and insisted on being allowed to remain in office for a month before ceding power to Castillo Armas. Peurifoy and President Osorio presided over the talks in San Salvador. Anxious to arrest the few Communists remaining at large, Wisner dismissed Castillo Armas's demands as "dangerous nonsense." Peurifoy bullied and cajoled until on 2 July, the two men signed the "Pacto de San Salvador," forming a combined Army-liberacionista junta.²⁴⁷

Wisner cabled his congratulations for a performance that "surpassed even our greatest expectations." Peurifoy "can take great comfort and satisfaction from fact that his accomplishments are already well known and fully appreciated in all important quarters of government."²⁴⁸ But it was

²⁴⁴ [] interview.

²⁴⁵ Peurifoy to Laddy, 13 July 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

²⁴⁶ Wisner to Chief of Station Guatemala, DIR 07144, 30 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 9.

²⁴⁷ Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, pp. 353-355; Wisner to Chief of Station Guatemala City, DIR 07304, 1 July 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 9.

²⁴⁸ Wisner to Chief of Station Guatemala City, DIR 08299, 30 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 9.

~~Secret~~

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not a complete victory. A week of chaos had allowed leading Communists to escape. Many took refuge in embassies. [] went to see Fortuny, the former head of the PGT, at the Mexican Embassy and found him a shattered man, unable to speak. As he left, a young attaché stopped him with a question, "does this mean the United States will not allow a Communist government anywhere in the hemisphere?" [] put on his hat. "Draw your own conclusions," he said, and walked out.²⁴

²⁴[] interview.

~~Secret~~

Chapter 4

The Sweet Smell of Success

What we'd give to have an Arbenz now. We are going to have to invent one, but all the candidates are dead.

US State Department official, 1981²²⁰

PBSUCCESS officers concluded their business and began withdrawing on 1 July 1954. The *Voz de la Liberación* went off the air the following day, and David Atlee Phillips packed its mobile transmitter for shipment to the States. In [] began collecting files and preparing to close [] He ordered Guatemala Station to destroy documents pertaining to PBSUCCESS.²²¹ As Frank Wisner had said, it was time for the Agency to return to the tasks for which it was "peculiarly qualified."²²² But the Agency would never be the same after PBSUCCESS. The triumph showed what could be accomplished through covert action, and its lessons, learned and unlearned, would have ramifications for years to come.

The Agency's initial jubilation gave way to misgivings as it became clear that victory in Guatemala had been neither as clear nor as unambiguous as originally thought. In Latin America, the Eisenhower administration came under heavy fire for its actions, and Guatemala became a symbol of the stubborn resistance of the United States to progressive, nationalist policies. Castillo Armas's new regime proved embarrassingly inept. Its repressive and corrupt policies soon polarized Guatemala and provoked a renewed civil conflict. Operation PBSUCCESS aroused resentments that continue, almost 40 years after the event, to prevent the Agency from revealing its role.

Mopping Up

After sending his "shift of gears" cable, Wisner turned his attention to finding ways to exploit the victory of PBSUCCESS. The defeat of Arbenz not only boosted the Agency's reputation in Congress and the

²²⁰Quoted in Marlise Simons, "Guatemala: The Coming Danger," *Foreign Policy* 43 (Summer 1981): 103.

²²¹Cyrus Burnette to J. C. King, "Plot by Arbenz Government Against United Fruit Co.," HGG-A-1285, 29 July 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 100.

²²²Wisner to [] DIR 07144, 30 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 9.

administration, it provided a chance to expose Soviet machinations throughout the hemisphere. Wisner was anxious not to allow any opportunity to pass. Amid the ruins of Arbenz's government lay prizes worth collecting: documents, defeatable Communists, and openings for propaganda. Wisner tried to seize what he could.

In early July, he sent two officers, [] and [] of the Counterintelligence Staff, to Guatemala City to do a "snatch job on documents while the melon was freshly burst open."²³¹ He hoped to find papers that would enable the Agency to trace Soviet connections throughout Latin America and identify "people who can be controlled and exploited to further US policy."²³² In addition, he thought the captured papers would conclusively prove the Communist nature of the Arbenz regime. He named the project PBHISTORY [] arrived on 4 July along with a two-man State Department team. They discovered that the PGT headquarters and offices of labor unions and police organizations had already been plundered systematically by the army and unsystematically by looters and street urchins. [] who arrived a few days earlier, had bought secret police documents from a small boy. Party and government offices stood unguarded, their doors and windows broken, with official documents lying on the floor in heaps.²³³

With the help of the Army and Castillo Armas's junta, the team gathered 150,000 documents, but most of what it found had only "local significance." Few of the papers concerned "the aspects that we are most interested in, namely the elements of Soviet support and control of Communism in Guatemala."²³⁴ Nor did the documents identify individuals vulnerable to exploitation. Ronald M. Schneider, an outside researcher who later examined the PBHISTORY documents, found no traces of Soviet control and substantial evidence that Guatemalan Communists acted alone, without support or guidance from outside the country.²³⁵

The operation produced enough material to fill a booklet distributed to the National Security Council, members of the Senate, and other interested officials. It contained photographs of Arbenz's library of Marxist literature, Chinese Communist materials on agrarian reform, pages from Mrs. Arbenz's copy of Stalin's biography, evidence that Arbenz had tried to purchase arms from Italy, and various letters and cables revealing a "strong pro-Communist bias." Wisner wanted more incriminating material, but the brochure was sufficient to impress the NSC staff.²³⁶

²³¹ Wisner, "Exploitation and Follow Ups," [undated], Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

²³² [] Chief RQM, OIS, to Wisner, "Mechanics for Exploitation of Guatemalan Documents," 28 July 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

²³³ [] Counterintelligence Staff, "Report on Activity in Guatemala City, 4-16 July 1954," 28 July 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ Schneider's *Communism in Guatemala, 1944-1954* was based on PBHISTORY materials.

²³⁶ Counterintelligence Staff C, "Documents Obtained in a Brief, Preliminary Sampling of the Documentary Evidence of Communist Infiltration and Influence in Guatemala," 28 July 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

Apart from documents, the Agency also had an interest in two other remnants of the Arbenz regime—the Alfhem arms and the assortment of political refugees encamped in embassy compounds around Guatemala City. After the United States provided Guatemala with military aid, Castillo Armas offered to sell the Czech arms to the Agency in order to raise money to purchase aircraft. Agency officials were initially intrigued, but when military advisers surveyed the equipment they found it obsolete and in poor condition. Logistics warned that the arms could be easily traced, and the Western Hemisphere Division advised that it could think of no use for them. Allen Dulles declined the offer.²⁹⁹

Wisner and Barnes initially regarded the presence of several dozen high government and party officials in the embassies of Mexico, Argentina, El Salvador, and Chile as a propaganda opportunity. In early August, they proposed to have Castillo Armas's junta attempt to deport the asylum seekers to the Soviet Union. If the Soviets agreed, it would confirm the former regime's relationship with Moscow and remove Arbenz and his cronies from the hemisphere. If they did not, Wisner beamed, "then we have another excellent propaganda gambit, viz: 'See what happens to Moscow's unsuccessful agents and operatives.'"³⁰⁰ The scheme proved impossible to execute. Guatemala had no diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, so a request required Moscow's cooperation, which was not forthcoming. Wisner remained fond of the idea, but by the beginning of September, Assistant Secretary of State Henry Holland was trying to get Mexico to turn former Guatemalan officials over to the junta for trial. Mexico's Embassy held the most distinguished cohort, including Fortuny and Arbenz. Holland tried to persuade the Mexicans to accept the "principle that the traditional benefits of asylum should be denied international Communists," but they would have none of it.³⁰¹

State and Agency officials now began to regard the asylum seekers as a "troublesome and unsettled matter."³⁰² They worried that Guatemalan Communists would be allowed free passage to Mexico City, where they could plot their return. It was a useless worry. The PGT members who wished to stay active in politics remained at large, unmolested by Castillo Armas's police, who concentrated on arresting thousands of peasants who tried to remain on the land granted them by Decree 900. The PGT remained active underground until the late 1960s, when a more proficient

²⁹⁹Wisner to Dulles, "Utilization of the Alfhem Arms Shipment to Guatemala," 14 December 1954, with attachments, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

³⁰⁰Wisner to Holland, "Proposal of Combined Department of State and CIA for Action to Exploit Asylee Situation in Guatemala," 3 August 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

³⁰¹Holland to J. Foster Dulles, "Asylee Problem in Guatemala," 10 August, 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

³⁰²Wisner to King, "Guatemala: Conference with Messrs Leddy and Mann," 31 August, 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

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Guatemalan police force arrested, tortured, and killed Víctor Gutiérrez and 11 other leaders, sewed their bodies into burlap sacks and dropped them in the ocean from an army transport plane.²⁶³ Castillo Armas, embarrassed by the deposed president's continued presence in the capital, allowed Arbenz free passage to Mexico on 12 September 1954. He insisted on a final humiliation and ordered Arbenz to be strip searched at the airport. For the next 17 years Arbenz lived a peripatetic existence in France, Uruguay, Switzerland, and Cuba, returning finally to Mexico where in 1971 he drowned in his bathtub.²⁶⁴ Fortuny also went to Mexico City, where he still lives.

In mid-August, Eisenhower summoned the operation's managers to the White House for a formal briefing. There, before the Cabinet, Vice President Nixon, and Eisenhower's family, [] Phillips, [] Dulles, Barnes, Wisner, and King explained the operation with maps and slides. The audience listened respectfully. At the end, the President asked how many men Castillo Armas had lost. "Only one," a briefer lied.²⁶⁵ Eisenhower shook his head; "incredible," he murmured.²⁶⁶ Indeed, it had been incredible. Had the Guatemalan Army crushed Castillo Armas at Chiquimula, as it easily could have done, investigations would have uncovered the chronic lapses in security, the failure to plan beyond the operation's first stages, the Agency's poor understanding of the intentions of the Army, the PGT, and the government, the hopeless weakness of Castillo Armas's troops, and the failure to make provisions for the possibility of defeat. All of these were swept away by Arbenz's resignation, and PBSUCCESS went into Agency lore as an unblemished triumph. Eisenhower's policymakers drew confidence from the belief that covert action could be used as a convenient, decisive final resort.

Over the following years, the Eisenhower administration employed covert actions to build a government in South Vietnam and support an abortive separatist movement in Sumatra. In early 1960, when the Agency needed to overthrow the regime of Fidel Castro in Cuba, it reassembled the PBSUCCESS team in [] Bissell, Barnes, and Phillips all took leading positions in operation JMARC, an operation designed to create a "liberated area" in Cuba. As originally conceived, the area would contain a radio propaganda operation like SHERWOOD and become a focal point to which opposition elements could rally. Like PBSUCCESS, the operation relied on a rebel army of exiles and air support from World War II-era aircraft manned by Cuban and American pilots. It

²⁶³Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, p. 388.

²⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 390-392.

²⁶⁵The number of opposition casualties (as well as the total number of casualties) is unknown, but Agency files indicate that at least 27 were killed at Puerto Barrios, another 16 at Gualán. In addition, some 75 members of the civilian opposition were killed in Guatemalan jails before the fall of Arbenz.

²⁶⁶Phillips, *The Night Watch*, pp. 62-64.

was not a copy of PBSUCCESS, but an improvement built around the elements of the Guatemala operation that had been considered effective: radio, airpower, and an insurrectionary army.²⁴⁷ The operation underwent many changes before ending in fiasco at the Bay of Pigs, but these elements remained central to the plan. Afterwards, many of those involved in the two operations linked the success in Guatemala with the failure at the Bay of Pigs. "If the Agency had not had Guatemala," E. Howard Hunt, a case officer who served in both PBSUCCESS and JMARC, later observed, "it probably would not have had Cuba."²⁴⁸ Even after the Cuban disaster discredited its strategies, PBSUCCESS continued to cast a shadow on policy in Latin America. "The language, arguments, and techniques of the Arbenz episode," one analyst observed in the 1980s, "were used in Cuba in the early 1960s, [] in the Dominican Republic in 1965, and in []"²⁴⁹

International Condemnation

Even before the afterglow of the White House briefing wore off, the Eisenhower administration had reason to question whether PBSUCCESS had delivered an undiluted victory. Agency and State Department officials were shocked at the ferocity of international protest after the fall of Arbenz. The London *Times* and *Le Monde* attacked the cynical hypocrisy behind America's "modern forms of economic colonialism," while in Rangoon protesters stoned the American Embassy.²⁵⁰ UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld charged that "the United States' attitude was completely at variance with the [UN] Charter." The British Foreign Office found German newspapers "surprisingly critical," even ones "not usually hostile to America." British officials considered John Foster Dulles's gloating remarks after the coup as virtually "an admission that the rebellion was an outside job."²⁵¹

Whitehall soon put aside its initial disgust and helped unruffle European feathers. Foreign Office officials were ready to lodge complaints over the naval blockade, the Springsjörð incident, and the failure of the OAS investigation team to get closer than Mexico City. Prime Minister Winston Churchill, however, persuaded them that forbearance in this instance might be rewarded when Britain needed to quell the next disturbance in its empire. "I'd never heard of this bloody place Guatemala until I

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²⁴⁷ Quoted in Immerman, *CIA in Guatemala*, p. 190.

²⁴⁸ Simons, "Guatemala," p. 94. Some have claimed an even longer shadow for PBSUCCESS. Philip C. Roetlinger, a PBSUCCESS case officer, wrote in 1986 that "it is painful to look on as my Government repeats the mistakes in which it engaged me thirty-two years ago. I have grown up. I only wish my Government would do the same." Philip C. Roetlinger, "The Company, Then and Now," *The Progressive*, July 1986, p. 50.

²⁴⁹ Rangoon to Secretary of State, 27 June 1954, Job 79-01025A, Box 82.

²⁵¹ Meers, "The British Connection," pp. 422-423.

was in my seventy-ninth year," he growled. Britain helped cover up the Springfjord affair and issued a "white paper" that ratified the Agency's version of events. Eisenhower, however, felt no obligation to return the favor in kind, as Churchill's successor learned two years later at Suez.²⁷¹

In Latin America, the Arbenz regime's demise left an enduring legacy of anti-Americanism. In Havana, Santiago, Mexico City, Buenos Aires, and Rio de Janeiro, large crowds gathered to burn the stars and stripes and effigies of Eisenhower and Dulles. "Societies of the Friends of Guatemala" sprang up to keep alive the memory of American imperialism and Guatemala's martyrdom.²⁷² The State Department was "frightened by reactions all over," according to the Secretary.²⁷³ An Agency official reported that the demonstrations "revealed a surprising and embarrassing influence of Communists on public opinion." Daniel James, the influential editor of *The New Leader*, predicted that "in death the Guatemalan party may prove to be a bigger asset to the Kremlin than in life."²⁷⁴

This was an overstatement, but victory over Arbenz proved to be a lasting propaganda setback. Resentment even found artistic expression in the work of Mexican muralist Diego Rivera, who depicted in fresco Peurifoy and the Dulles brothers passing money to Castillo Armas and Monzón over the bodies of Guatemalan children. Several Mexican magazines reproduced the mural.²⁷⁵ Among the crowds that spat and threw vegetables at Vice President Richard Nixon in 1957 were signs condemning the suppression of Guatemala. For Latin Americans determined to change their countries' feudal social structures, Guatemala was a formative experience. "The Guatemala intervention," according to one historian, "shaped the attitudes and stratagems of an older generation of radicals, for whom this experience signaled the necessity of armed struggle and an end to illusions about peaceful, legal, and reformist methods."²⁷⁶ This generation included Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, who learned from Guatemala's experience the importance of striking decisively against opponents before they could seek assistance from outside.

The Liberator

While PBSUCCESS succeeded in removing a government, it failed to install an adequate substitute. Agency officials might have felt more sanguine in their victory if Castillo Armas had been an able leader. The

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 422-428.

²⁷² Wisner, "The Friends of Guatemala," 19 June 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

²⁷³ Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope*, p. 371.

²⁷⁴ [] "Comment on 'Lessons of Guatemala' by Daniel James," 19 August 1954, Job 79-01228A.

²⁷⁵ "Yo No Miento! Grita Diego," *Impacto*, 29 January 1955, pp. 20-25; *Luz: La Revista de los Trabajadores* (magazine of the Mexican Electricians Union), 15 February 1955, (cover).

²⁷⁶ James Dunkerly, *Power in the Isthmus: A Political History of Modern Central America* (London: Verso, 1988) p. 429.



1955 mural by Mexican artist Diego Rivera depicts John Foster Dulles shaking hands with Castillo Armas. Allen Dulles and John Peurifoy pass money to Col. Elfego Monzón and other Guatemalan officers while Indian peasants load bananas aboard a United Fruit ship.

invasion's disastrous setbacks dispelled all illusions about his capabilities, and US officials had low expectations at the outset of his presidency. Even these proved optimistic. Hopes that he would align himself with centrist and moderate elements were dashed within weeks, as the new junta sought out the only elements not tainted by ties to the Arbenz regime, the aged and embittered retainers of Ubico. Castillo Armas named José Bernabé Linares, Ubico's hated secret police chief, to head the new regime's security forces. Linares soon banned all "subversive" literature, including works by Victor Hugo and Fyodor Dostoevsky. Castillo Armas completed his lunge to the right by disfranchising illiterates (two-thirds of the electorate), canceling land reform, and outlawing all political parties, labor confederations, and peasant organizations. Finally, he decreed a "political statute" that voided the 1945 constitution and gave him complete executive and legislative authority.²⁷⁸

These depredations worried John Foster Dulles less than the new regime's chronic insolvency. Castillo Armas came to power just as international coffee buyers, convinced that prices had risen too high, mounted a "buyers strike" against Central and South American growers. A few months later, Guatemala felt the first effects of a year-long drought that devastated the corn crop. The new regime opened its arms to American investors, but the only takers were Mafia figures who joined with Guatemalan Army officers in opening gambling halls.²⁷⁹ Meanwhile,

²⁷⁸Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit*, p. 221.

²⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 234.



Wide World (AP) ©

A year after taking power, President Castillo Armas chats with his aide, Miguel Mendoza, who served in the Liberacionista army.

American "promoters, carpetbaggers and others" raised expectations in Guatemala City that a large US aid package would be easy to get. Castillo Armas surprised the State Department's Thomas Mann in September with a request for \$260 million in aid, including plans for a \$60 million national highway network.²⁹⁰ The Department had planned to give \$4 million in grant aid and to ask the International Monetary Fund for a \$20 million loan for road development, fearing that higher levels would provoke other Latin countries to submit requests.²⁹¹ By the end of the year, it was apparent that each country had entirely unrealistic expectations of the other. The United States wanted Castillo Armas to maintain a fiscally responsible government, while Castillo Armas recognized that his claim to authority rested on his ability to deliver goods from the United States.

Guatemala quickly came to depend on handouts from the United States. The government's foreign reserves dropped from \$42 million at the end of 1953 (when it was easy for Arbenz to spare \$5 million for Czech arms), to a rockbottom \$3.4 million in April 1955.²⁹² At this point, the regime could no longer borrow internally. Capital flight, black markets, and other signs of approaching bankruptcy discredited the regime. Wisner complained of "the inability on the part of the Government to realize sufficient revenues to operate."²⁹³ When aid and multilateral loans ran out, the State Department offered to help Castillo Armas obtain private loans, but the Agency worried about the propaganda ramifications of making its client beholden to New York banks and recommended against it.²⁹⁴ In April, Holland increased his request for grant aid from \$4 million to \$14 million. The following month, the National Security Council, determining that the "collapse of the present Guatemalan government would be a disastrous political setback for the United States," decided on an aid package totaling \$53 million.²⁹⁵

The Eisenhower administration had to underwrite an increasing Guatemalan deficit aggravated by corruption and mismanagement. As [] had observed, the United States was prepared to subsidize some wastage, but the scale of corruption surprised US officials. In 1955, at the height of the corn famine, Castillo Armas granted several former *Liberacionistas* a license to import corn in return for a personal kickback

²⁹⁰Memorandum of Conversation, Ambassador Norman Armour, Holland, Mann, 25 January 1955, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957*, 7: 59.

²⁹¹Memorandum of Conversation, "Current Situation in Guatemala and Projected Aid Program," 28-29 April 1955, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957*, 7: 71-75.

²⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 73.

²⁹³Wisner to Allen Dulles, "Guatemala—Continuing economic difficulties," 30 November 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

[] Allen Dulles, "Current US position with regard to Government loan requested by Guatemala," 22 October 1954, Job 79-01228A, Box 23.

²⁹⁵Holland to Under Secretary of State Herbert Hoover, Jr., 20 May 1955, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957*, 7: 80-81.

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of \$25,000. United Nations officials inspected the corn and found it contaminated and unfit for consumption. Shortly afterward, a Guatemalan student newspaper exposed the scandal, reprinting a copy of the canceled check used to bribe the president. Castillo Armas responded by ordering a police crackdown on his critics.²⁸⁶

Opposition to the regime grew more vocal as the second anniversary of the liberation approached. On 1 May 1956, workers booed government speakers off the platform at a labor rally and cheered former Arbenista officials. In early June, embassy officials reported that the Guatemalan Communist Party was "well on its way toward recovery," with underground cells assuming effective leadership of the opposition. On 25 June, government agents fired into a crowd of student protesters marching on the presidential palace, killing six and wounding scores more. Castillo Armas declared a "state of siege" and suspended all civil liberties. The US Ambassador stressed to the president "the importance of publicizing, with supporting evidence, the events as part of a Communist plot."²⁸⁷ The United States Information Agency (USIA) agreed to help. Holland met with Guatemalan officials and "suggested that in dealing with demonstrators tear gas was effective and infinitely preferable to bullets."²⁸⁸

Quelling unrest, however, proved more difficult than finding the right propaganda slant. After another year of escalating violence between the opposition and the authorities, Castillo Armas was assassinated by a member of the presidential guard. USIA dutifully portrayed the killing as another Communist plot. The Liberator's death opened the way for elections, which produced a plurality for Ortiz Passarelli, a centrist candidate. Followers of the defeated nominee of the right, Ydígoras Fuentes, rioted, and the Army seized power and invalidated the election. In January 1958, Guatemalans voted again, and this time they knew what was expected of them. Ydígoras won by a plurality, and shortly after taking office declared another "state of siege" and assumed full powers.²⁸⁹

Amid the convulsions of the 1950s, Guatemala's political center, which had created the Revolution of 1944 and dominated politics until 1953, vanished from politics into a terrorized silence. Political activity simply became too dangerous as groups of the extreme right and left, both led by military officers, plotted against one another. In the early 1960s, guerrilla groups began operating in the eastern part of the country, and in 1966 the United States responded by sending military advisers and weapons, escalating a cycle of violence and reprisals that by the end of the decade

²⁸⁶Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit*, pp. 234-235.

²⁸⁷Holland to J. F. Dulles, 29 June 1956, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957*, 7: 124.

²⁸⁸Memorandum of Conversation, Holland and José Cruz Salazar, Ambassador of Guatemala, 29 June 1956, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957*, 7: 126.

²⁸⁹Schlesinger and Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit*, pp. 236-239.

claimed the lives of a US Ambassador, two US military attachés, and as many as 10,000 peasants. In 1974, the Army stole another election, persuading another generation of young Guatemalans to seek change through intrigues and violence. Increasingly, Indians and the Catholic Church—which had formerly remained aloof from politics—sided with the left, isolating the Army on the far right.²⁹⁰

Ironically, by attaining its short-term goal—removing Jacobo Arbenz—PBSUCCESS thwarted the long-term objective of producing a stable, non-Communist Guatemala. [] hopes that Castillo Armas would establish a moderate, reformist regime and follow the instructions of US financial experts were destroyed by the same process that had placed the Liberator in power. Because Arbenz and the PGT had advocated and implemented progressive reforms, []—for tactical reasons—had needed to direct his appeals at the groups most hurt by land reform and other progressive policies. Moderate elements disliked parts of Arbenz's agenda, but were repelled by the bitter disaffection of the opposition. Resentful landowners and partisans of the pre-1944 regime were the rebels' natural allies, and Castillo Armas, as their leader, acted as broker between these "men of action" and the United States.

During PBSUCCESS, US officials had reason to believe Castillo Armas's rightist tendencies would be offset by his openness to advice from the United States. Case officers found him malleable and receptive to suggestions. But, as the State Department soon learned, Castillo Armas's relationship to CIA had been dictated by his circumstances. As president of Guatemala, he was in a better position to press the demands of his primary constituency, conservative land barons and political opportunists. When the United States failed to provide enough aid to satisfy these groups, Castillo Armas was forced to appease them in other ways, through graft and preferment. The United States' heavy stake in Castillo Armas's success reduced its leverage in dealing with him. State Department officials were unable to bargain with the junta on a quid pro quo basis because they knew—and the Guatemalans knew—the United States would never allow Castillo Armas to fail. In Guatemala, US officials learned a lesson they would relearn in Vietnam, Iran, [] and other countries: intervention usually produces "allies" that are stubborn, aid hungry, and corrupt.²⁹¹

El Pulpo

The United Fruit Company did not profit from victory. Castillo Armas restored many of the company's privileges, but they were worth less than before. The more affluent American consumers of the 1950s consumed less fruit per capita, and independent companies cut into United

²⁹⁰Simons, "Guatemala," pp. 95-99.

²⁹¹The increased-stake, decreased-leverage paradox is explored by Leslie Gelb and Richard Betts in *The Irony of Vietnam: The System Worked* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1979), pp. 11-13.

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Fruit's share. The company's profit margin dropped from 33.4 percent in 1950 to 15.4 percent in 1957, and share prices, which peaked at \$73 in 1951, fell to \$43 in 1959. The company courted environmental disaster by experimenting with pesticides and selective breeding. Taller, more productive trees turned out to be more vulnerable to hurricanes, and winds felled 20 million trees a year in 1958 and 1959. A chemical agent used to control a banana blight killed predators that kept insect pests in check. By the end of the 1950s, the company faced higher costs and declining yields.²⁹²

Political setbacks compounded these disasters. To improve relations with Latin America, the State Department demanded that the company grant higher wages, not just in Guatemala but throughout the hemisphere. Once United Fruit's usefulness to PBSUCCESS was at an end, the Eisenhower administration proceeded with its suspended antitrust action, and in 1958 the company signed a consent decree divesting it of its holdings in railroads and marketing operations. Thomas Corcoran's heroic lobbying and the addition of Walter Bedell Smith to the board of directors in 1955 failed to turn the company around. Smith joined a Boston-bred, Harvard-educated corporate leadership described by *Fortune* as "complacent, unimaginative, and bureaucratic," too rigid and conservative to contend with the company's multiplying difficulties.²⁹³

United Fruit continued to decline during the 1960s, and in 1972 sold the last of its Guatemalan land to the Del Monte corporation. A few years later, the company merged with Morrell Meats to form United Brands, but the merger failed to stop the slide. In 1975, after a year in which the company lost \$43.6 million and came under Federal investigation for paying a \$2.5 million bribe to the Government of Honduras, United Brands' president, Eli Black, smashed out the window of his corner office in the Pan Am Building and jumped to his death. Two years later, two New York real estate developers bought the company and managed to turn a profit. In 1984, United Brands was purchased by a Cincinnati-based insurance holding company, American Financial Corporation, which owns it today. Thanks to Americans' changing diets, banana importing has once again become profitable, and United's Chiquita brand has recaptured a majority share of the market. The company's Tropical Radio division (which once employed the Salamá conspirators) ventured into the cellular telephone business in the early 1980s and now dominates the mobile phone business in 20 Latin American cities.²⁹⁴

²⁹²Herbert Solow, "The Ripe Problems of United Fruit," *Fortune*, March 1959, pp. 97-233.

²⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 98.

²⁹⁴Jefferson Grigsby, "The Wonder Is That It Works at All," *Forbes*, 18 February 1980, pp. 104-105; "United Brands' Hidden Charms for Carl Lindner," *Fortune*, 19 March 1984, p. 41; Kerry Hannon, "Ripe Banana," *Forbes*, 13 June 1988, p. 86.

The Story Unfolds

Today, most of the story of PBSUCCESS is available in published accounts. In Latin America, scholars and journalists assumed US complicity in the Guatemalan affair from the outset, but in the United States the details of official involvement came slowly to light in the 1960s and 1970s. During the Eisenhower administration, the Agency took pains to cover its tracks, [

]“ But after Eisenhower and Dulles left office, references to the operation began appearing in open sources. In 1961, Whiting Willauer, in public testimony before Congress, revealed that he had been part of a special team of ambassadors sent to Central America to aid an Agency-sponsored plan to overthrow Arbenz. He further testified that the Agency had trained and equipped Castillo Armas's forces. Thruston B. Morton, Eisenhower's Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Affairs, boasted of his role in PBSUCCESS on television while campaigning for the Senate in 1962. The following year, Eisenhower, sharing a podium with Allen Dulles, conceded that “there was one time” when “we had to get rid of a Communist government” in Central America.²⁹⁶ He told the story of how Dulles had come to him with a request for aircraft for the rebel forces. That same year he repeated the story in his memoirs, *Mandate for Change*, and Dulles provided additional details in his 1963 study, *The Craft of Intelligence*.²⁹⁷ At about the same time, Ydígoras Fuentes published a memoir in the United States in which he described the Agency's involvement while concealing his own role in the operation.

David Wise and Thomas B. Ross put these pieces together in their 1964 exposé on the CIA, *The Invisible Government*, which devoted a chapter to Guatemala.

who flew with the rebel air force, described his own experiences with considerable embellishment. The Agency was disturbed by the book's revelations, and DCI John McCone tried unsuccessfully to get Wise and Ross to make changes. McCone raised

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David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, *The Invisible Government* (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 166-168.

297 Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change, 1953-1956* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1963), pp. 425-426; Allen Dulles, *The Craft of Intelligence* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963), pp. 219, 229. Dulles revealed no sources or methods but made it clear that the United States had been involved.

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no objections, however, to the Guatemala chapter, which, he said, described events "before my time."²⁹⁹ Like Eisenhower, Dulles, and Willauer, he regarded the operation, after 10 years, as a subject that could now be discussed, so long as names and places remained unmentioned.

Amid the push for increased government accountability in the 1970s, leaks by former Agency employees continued to outnumber official disclosures. The Pike and Church committees, which investigated CIA activities in the 1970s, refrained—at least in public—from commenting on the Guatemala operation, but ex-CIA officers continued to fill in the details. In early 1972, Richard Bissell told John Chancellor on national television that "the whole policy-making machinery of the executive branch of the government was involved," with CIA taking a leading role.³⁰⁰ Soon afterward, an Associated Press reporter, Lewis Gulick, decided to test a new Executive order on declassification (Executive Order 11652) by requesting documents on PBSUCCESS. His request, on 6 July 1972, was the first declassification inquiry received under the new order, and since it came from a prominent media figure, Agency officials knew it could not be dismissed lightly. Nonetheless, after reviewing the documents, DCI Richard Helms denied the request in full.³⁰¹ David Atlee Phillips, who was then the chief of the Western Hemisphere Division in the Directorate of Operations, argued that exposing the Guatemala materials would "only stir more Hemispheric controversy about CIA when our plate overflows already in the wake of [

] Gulick appealed, but the Interagency Classification Review Committee, chaired by John Eisenhower, son of the former president, backed up the Agency.³⁰²

Former Agency officials, meanwhile, continued to tell their stories. Publishers found a popular genre in CIA memoirs. In *Undercover*, published in 1974, E. Howard Hunt disclosed his role in the psychological and paramilitary aspects of the operation.³⁰³ Four years later, Phillips described the SHERWOOD operation, a part of PBSUCCESS that had not previously received press attention, in an account copied almost verbatim from a debriefing report that is still classified.³⁰⁴ Many more officials told their stories to Richard Harris Smith, a former Agency official who was working

²⁹⁹ Transcript of conversation between DCI McCone, Lyman Kirkpatrick, David Wise, and Thomas Ross, 15 May 1964, Job 80B-01285A, Box 13, Folder 10.

³⁰⁰ Untitled transcript, 2 August 1972, Job 79-01025A, Box 153.

³⁰¹ Angus MacLean Thuermer, Assistant to the Director, to Lewis Gulick, 16 August 1972, Job 79-01025A, Box 153.

³⁰² Phillips to Executive Assistant, Directorate of Operations, "Proposed Topics for Unclassified History," 17 October 1973, Job 79-01025A, Box 153.

³⁰³ Thuermer to Marvin L. Arrowsmith, Associated Press Bureau Chief, 28 August 1973, Job 79-01025A, Box 153.

³⁰⁴ E. Howard Hunt, *Undercover: Memoirs of an American Secret Agent* (New York: Berkeley Publishing, 1974), pp. 96-101.

³⁰⁵ Phillips, *The Night Watch*, pp. 37-68.

on a biography of Allen Dulles. Smith missed his publisher's deadline, and in 1980 he showed his uncompleted manuscript to two *Newsweek* reporters, Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, who were working on a book on Guatemala.

In their pursuit of documents, Schlesinger and Kinzer tested the limits of the newly amended Freedom of Information Act. In 1974, Congress substantially strengthened the 1966 Act, giving scholars a powerful instrument for extracting documents from government agencies. When CIA denied their request, the two journalists took the Agency to court with help from the American Civil Liberties Union's National Security Project. The lawsuit caused the Agency to collect all of the available documents on the operation and place them in Job 79-01025A, the collection on which this history is based. The suit also revealed the operation's name, PBSUCCESS, to the public for the first time. CIA won the court action, and no Agency documents were revealed. Schlesinger and Kinzer, however, used the Act to obtain documents from the Departments of State and Defense and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These documents, and the revelations of former American and Guatemalan officials, substantiated the story told in their book *Bitter Fruit* and the more scholarly studies on PBSUCCESS that have appeared since.¹⁰⁴

In announcing CIA's new "openness" policy, made possible by the end of the Cold War, former Director of Central Intelligence Robert M. Gates in February 1992 included PBSUCCESS along with the 1953 Coup in Iran and the Bay of Pigs, as covert action operations whose records will be reviewed for declassification by CIA's new Historical Review Group. Although this new Group's work on its own priorities was delayed by legislation later in 1992 that required CIA (and all other agencies and departments) to review all their records relevant to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the review of the PBSUCCESS records is now scheduled to begin in 1994.

Although the opening of CIA's records on this 1954 operation may well revive old controversies and criticisms, it will nevertheless at last allow the Agency to place this episode firmly behind it. Releasing the Guatemala records should symbolically separate CIA from the kind of actions it once considered crucial in the struggle against world Communism. Moreover, these documents will reveal not only the Cold War pressures, but also the restraining power of multilateral accords like the OAS treaty, which nearly prevented covert action despite the consensus of high officials supporting the operation. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, disclosing information about this formative and still controversial incident in intelligence history will show that the United States can honestly confront the painful incidents in its past and learn from its experience.

¹⁰⁴Phillips, *The Night Watch*, pp. 37-68.

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Appendix A

PBSUCCESS Timeline

18 July 1949	Col. Francisco Arana, Guatemalan armed forces chief, assassinated.
15 May 1950	Thomas Corcoran, United Fruit Company lobbyist, meets with Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Thomas Mann, to suggest action to oust Guatemalan President Juan José Arévalo.
3 September 1950	Case officer [] assigned to project [] arrives in Guatemala City [] establishes contact with []), a student group.
11 November 1950	Jacobo Arbenz elected president.
15 March 1951	Arbenz inaugurated.
22 August 1951	United Fruit Company warns employees that any increase in labor costs would make its operations in Guatemala uneconomic and force it to withdraw from the country.
15 September 1951	Windstorm flattens United Fruit's principal Guatemalan banana farms at Tiquisate; United Fruit later announces it will not rehabilitate plantation until it has completed study of economics of Guatemalan operations.

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~~Secret~~

26 September 1951	United Fruit suspends 3,742 Tiquisate employees, refuses to comply with order of Inspector General of Labor to reinstate the suspended employees.
30 October 1951	Walter Turnbull, Vice President of United Fruit, gives Arbenz ultimatum. United Fruit will not rehabilitate plantations without assurance of stable labor costs for three years and exemption from unfavorable labor laws or exchange controls.
19 December 1951	United Fruit announces reduction in passenger ship service to Guatemala.
2 January 1952	Labor Court of Appeals rules United Fruit must resume operations at Tiquisate and pay 3,742 employees back wages.
[]	[]
]
[]	[]
	i.]
25 March 1952	Mexico City [] begins receiving weekly reports from Castillo Armas.
16 June 1952	Case officer [] arrives in Guatemala []
17 June 1952	Arbenz enacts Agrarian Reform Law.

~~Secret~~

10 July 1952	DDP Allen Dulles meets with Mann to solicit State Department approval for plan to overthrow Arbenz.
7 August 1952	Distribution of land under the Agrarian Reform Law begins.
18 August 1952	DCI gives approval for PBFORTUNE.
2 October 1952	Pan American Airways settles three-month-old strike in Guatemala by raising wages 23 percent.
11 December 1952	Guatemalan Communist party opens second party congress with senior Arbenz administration officials in attendance.
12 December 1952	Workers at United Fruit's Tiquisate plantation file for expropriation of 55,000 acres of United Fruit land.
19 December 1952	Guatemalan Communist party, PGT, legalized.
5 February 1953	Congress impeaches the Supreme Court for "ignorance of the law which shows unfitness and manifest incapacity to administer justice" after the Court issued an injunction against further seizures of land.
25 February 1953	Guatemala confiscates 234,000 acres of United Fruit land.
18 March 1953	NSC 144/1, "United States Objectives and Courses with Respect to Latin America," warns of a "drift in the area toward radical and nationalistic regimes."
29 March 1953	Salamá uprising. Abortive rebellion touches off suppression campaign against anti-Communists in Guatemala.

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12 August 1953	National Security Council authorizes covert action against Guatemala.
11 September 1953	[] adviser to King, submits "General Plan of Action" for PBSUCCESS.
October 1953	John Peurifoy, new US Ambassador, arrives in Guatemala City.
9 November 1953	José Manuel Fortuny flies to Prague to negotiate purchase of arms.
16 November 1953	DDP Frank Wisner approves [] plan and recommends acceptance by DCI.
9 December 1953	DCI Allen Dulles approves general plan for PBSUCCESS, allocates \$3 million for the program.
23 December 1954	CIA's LINCOLN Station opens []
18 January 1954	Alfonso Martínez, head of the Agrarian Department, "flees" to Switzerland. Proceeds to Prague to negotiate arms deal.
[]	[]
25 January 1954	Guatemalan Government begins mass arrests of suspected subversives.
29 January 1954	Guatemalan white paper accuses US of planning invasion. Reveals substantial details of PBSUCCESS.
2 February 1954	Sydney Gruson, <i>New York Times</i> correspondent, expelled from Guatemala by Guatemalan Foreign Minister Guillermo Toriello [] Wisner, King meet to decide whether to abort PBSUCCESS due to white paper revelations.

~~Secret~~

~~Secret~~

PBSUCCESS Timeline

19 February 1954	Operation WASHTUB, a plan to plant a phony Soviet arms cache in Nicaragua, begins.
24 February 1954	Guatemala confiscates 173,000 acres of United Fruit land.
1 March 1954	Caracas meeting of the OAS opens.
4 March 1954	Dulles speaks to Caracas meeting.
5 March 1954	Toriello rebuts US charges.
13 March 1954	OAS votes 17 to 1 to condemn Communism in Guatemala. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles briefed on PBSUCCESS.
21 March 1954	Paramilitary training program graduates 37 Guatemalan sabotage trainees.
9 April 1954	Guatemalan Archbishop Mariano Rossell y Arrellana issues a pastoral letter calling for a national crusade against Communism.
10 April 1954	Wisner briefs Assistant Secretary of State Henry Holland on PBSUCCESS. Holland, shocked by security lapses, demands top-level review of project.
15-16 April 1954	Black flights suspended pending top-level review of PBSUCCESS.
17 April 1954	John Foster Dulles and Allen Dulles give [] the "full green light."
20 April 1954	Paramilitary training program graduates 30 leadership trainees.

[] []

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1 May 1954	<i>La Voz de la Liberación</i> , Operation SHERWOOD, begins broadcasts.
14 May 1954	Paramilitary training program graduates communications trainees.
15 May 1954	SS Alfhem docks in Puerto Barrios with cargo of Czech weapons.
20 May 1954	Commando raid on trainload of Alfhem weapons. One soldier and one saboteur killed. Further sabotage attempts on 21 and 25 May. All fail. Official Guatemalan radio goes off the air to replace transmitter. Does not restart broadcasts until mid-June. Nicaragua breaks diplomatic relations with Guatemala.
24 May 1954	US Navy begins Operation HARDROCK BAKER, sea blockade of Guatemala.
29 May 1954	Arbenz rounds up subversives, netting nearly all of Castillo Armas's clandestine apparatus.
31 May 1954	Arbenz offers to meet with Eisenhower to reduce tensions.
4 June 1954	Col. Rodolfo Mendoza of Guatemalan air force defects to El Salvador with private plane.
8 June 1954	Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, secretary general of the Guatemalan trade union federation, holds a special meeting of farm and labor unions to urge them to mobilize for self-defense.
15 June 1954	Sabotage teams launched. Invasion forces moved to staging areas. Chief of Station [] makes cold approach to [] prime defection candidate.

~~Secret~~

17 June 1954 [] meets again with [] requests bombing of Guatemala City racetrack as demonstration of strength.

18 June 1954 At 1700 hours, Arbenz holds mass rally at rail-road station. Buzzed by CIA planes. At 2020 hours, Castillo Armas crosses the border.

19 June 1954 At 0150 hours, bridge at Gualán blown up.

20 June 1954 Esquipulas captured. Rebels defeated at Gualán.

21 June 1954 Largest rebel force suffers disastrous defeat at Puerto Barrios.

25 June 1954 Matamoros Fortress bombed. Chiquimula captured. CIA planes strafe troop trains.

27 June 1954 Arbenz capitulates. Castillo Armas attacks Zacapa, is defeated and falls back to Chiquimula. Agency plane bombs British freighter at San José.

28 June 1954 Díaz, Sánchez, and Monzón form junta at 1145 hours. Refused to negotiate with Castillo. F-47 dropped two bombs at 1530 hours.

29 June 1954 Monzón seizes junta, requests negotiations with Castillo Armas. Zacapa garrison arranges cease-fire with Castillo Armas.

30 June 1954 Wisner sends "Shift of Gears" cable, urging officers to withdraw from matters of policy.

1 July 1954 Monzón and Castillo Armas meet in Honduras to mediate differences.

2 July 1954 SHERWOOD ceases broadcasts, begins withdrawal.

Operation PBSUCCESS

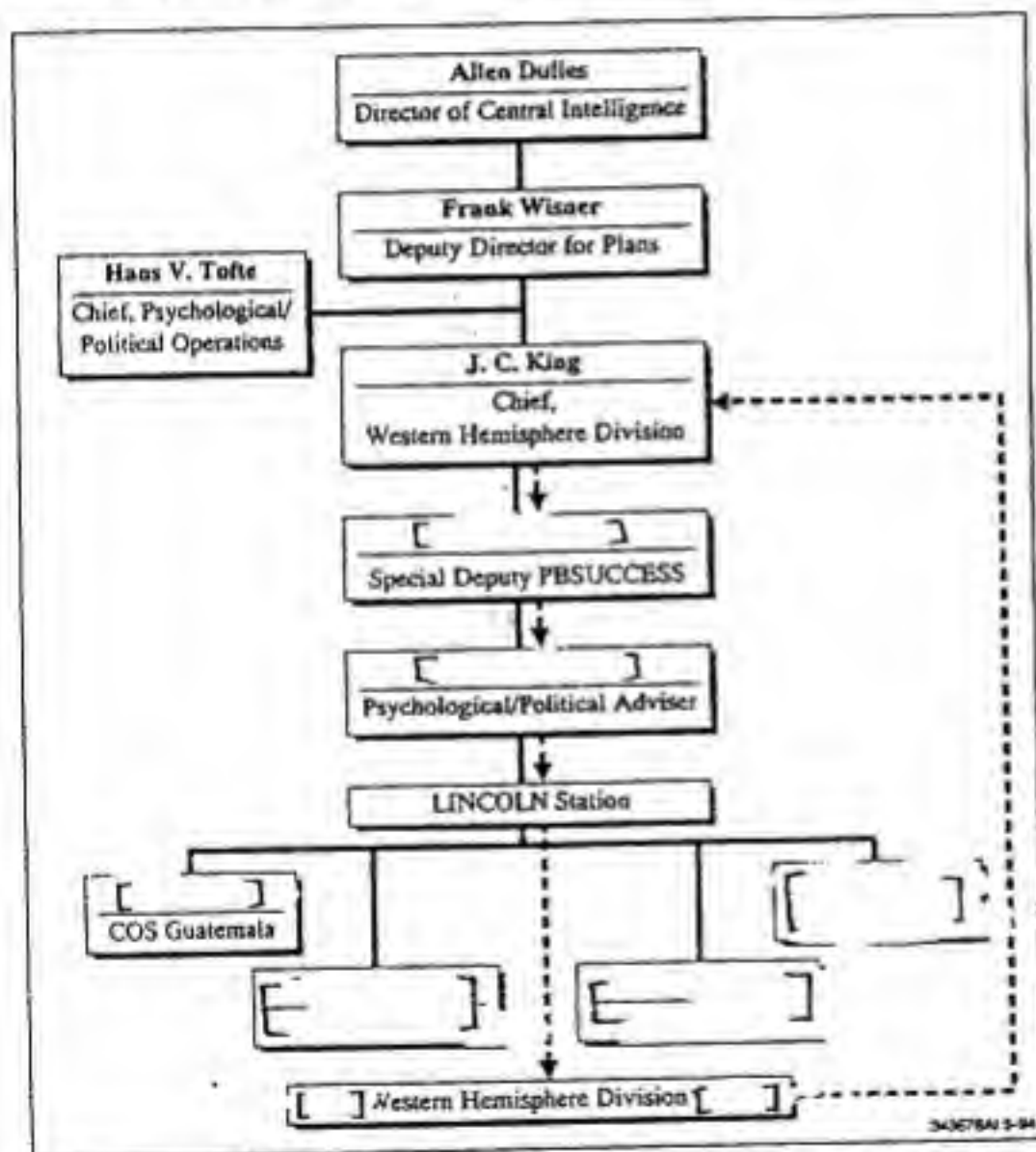
~~Secret~~

4-17 July 1954	CIA documents recovery team, PBHISTORY, collects 150,000 Communist-related documents in Guatemala City.
12 July 1954	LINCOLN office closed.
1 September 1954	Castillo Armas assumes presidency.
26 July 1957	Castillo Armas assassinated.

~~Secret~~

Appendix B

PBSUCCESS Organizational Chart



Organization proposed by J.C. King in a memo to Allen Dulles, "Guatemala—General Plan of Action," 11 September 1953. Job 83-00739R, Box 5 (also in Job 81-00206R, Box 1).

Appendix C

Codewords Used in PBSUCCESS

CALLIGERIS

Carlos Castillo Armas, rebel leader

DTFROGS

El Salvador

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

ESMERALDITE

Labor informant affiliated with Mexican union
ORIT.

[

]

L

]

HTKEEPER

Mexico City

HTPLUME

Panama

JMBLUG

John S. Peurifoy, US Ambassador

KMPAJAMA

Mexico

KMFLUSH

Nicaragua

K-PROGRAM

Operations aimed at intelligence and defections. After 11 May 1954, redirected at military defections.

KUCLUB

Communications

KUFIRE

Intelligence

KUBARK

CIA

~~Secret~~

Codewords Used in PBSUCCESS

KUGOWN

Propaganda

[]

[]

LCPANES

Costa Rica

LINCOLN

PBSUCCESS Headquarters []

ODACID

US Embassy

ODENVY

FBI

ODUNIT

United States Air Force

ODYOKE

United States Government

PANCHO

Castillo Armas

PBPRIME

The United States

[]

[]

SCRANTON

Training base for radio operators near
Nicaragua

[

/

]

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L

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~~Secret~~

SHERWOOD

CIA radiobroadcasting program begun on
1 May 1954.

[]

[]

SKILLET

Whiting Willauer, US Ambassador to Honduras

SKIMMER

The "Group," CIA cover organization support-
ing Castillo Armas.

[]

[]

STANDEL

Jacobo Arbenz, President of Guatemala

[]

[]

[]

[]

SYNCARP

The "Junta," Castillo Armas's political organi-
zation headed by Cordova Cerna.

WSBURNT

Guatemala

WSHOOFS

Honduras

~~Secret~~

Field Cryptos

Adam	Guatemala City
Bond	Puerto Barrios
Caesar	Quezaltenango
Doc	Mazatenango
Eddie	Quiche
Frank	Jutiapa
Goss	Coban
Hank	Zacapa
Ike	San Jose
Jack	Florida, Honduras
Kent	Carias Viejas, Honduras
Larry	Entre Rios, Guatemala
Mike	Asuncion Mita
Nick	Gualán

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PBSUCCESS

The SHERWOOD Tapes



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OVERVIEW

SHERWOOD was the cryptonym assigned to Radio Liberation, the clandestine radio operation encompassed by the PBSUCCESS program. This review of the SHERWOOD operation was conducted solely by listening to cassettes onto which the original broadcast reels had been transposed. Some use was made of collateral information which occasionally helped establish the sequence of tapes and broadcast dates/times. There were a total of 324 cassettes, most of them containing approximately 30 minutes of broadcasting. An additional 34 tapes were reviewed that contained only the recording of one full day (December 30, 1953) of broadcasting by TQW, the Guatemalan government's official station. These 34 tapes do not appear to have had anything to do with the SHERWOOD operation.

The SHERWOOD transmitter was located in a country neighboring Guatemala, and the studio in which the programming was recorded was located in southern Florida. Tapes were couriered from the studio to the broadcast site, but by the time armed hostilities broke out, this system had become too cumbersome and the actual program production was shifted to the broadcast site.

The SHERWOOD tapes were clearly recorded at the transmitter site, rather than from a receiver. They are devoid of the interference and distortion that would have been present had they instead been recorded off the air.

The cassette numbers used in this review do not imply any sequence. Cassette #2 does not necessarily follow Cassette #1. The numbers were assigned arbitrarily in the sequence in which they were transposed from the original reels. The dates, times and general sequence provided in the review were generally derived either from notations on the original reels, or from the contents of the broadcast. Reels pouched from the Florida studio generally contained annotations indicating the date and time they were to be broadcast, and there is no indication that these directions were not followed. After the outbreak of armed hostilities, circa 15 June, tapes were apparently produced at or near the broadcast site and contain few such notations. Where the date and/or time of broadcast can be established, they are noted at the top of the page. Where the date is an approximation derived from content, the date at the top of the page is preceded by the notation [c.]

The themes employed in this propaganda operation are what might be expected. Communism is the great evil. It is anti-God, anti-religion, anti-fatherland. President Arbenz is depicted not as a communist, but as a willing instrument of the Kremlin who has sold the country out to international communism, and who will be betrayed and destroyed by the communists whenever he is no longer useful to them. He is directly accused of having participated in the orchestration of the assassination of Armed Forces chief Col. Francisco Javier Arana in July, 1949, the price he purportedly was required to pay international communism in order to be given the presidency. Arbenz is regularly vilified throughout the broadcasts.

The army is a primary target of the propaganda. The "Military Decalogue," a statement of military values, is referred to several times in the effort to persuade the

military to take action against the communists. The broadcasts regularly stress that Arbenz is building up and arming the "popular militia" and the "communist shock troops" for an eventual confrontation with a military that he does not trust. The station is careful not to attack the army as an institution, nor the officers and soldiers that comprised it. Rather, it relentlessly attacked the betrayal of the army by its top leaders.

Other clear targets of the propaganda are intellectuals, women, workers, and peasants. Various program segments are clearly tailored to these groups.

The original Spanish scripts are available for many of the regularly broadcast program segments. In those instances, [?] appears in the account of each such segment.

The synopses of the broadcasts in this review will appear dry, but the reader should bear in mind that the operation made excellent use of music. In addition to its musical programs, the station made liberal use of music to introduce its programs (the Guatemalan anthem), as filler, and as background to dramatic presentations. The actual music programs covered the spectrum from classical to opera to North American pop hits to native Guatemalan marimba music, and, of course, every broadcast began and ended with the national anthem. More importantly, perhaps, the operation made dramatic use of martial music, frequently interwoven with repetitions of the refrains which were the sharp tips of the station's propaganda spears. A compilation of the all the refrains used is provided below. The martial music was effectively used, particularly when blended with news reports from the battle fronts. John Philip Souza was clearly a featured star of this whole series. The music helped considerably in making various appeals, calls to arms and resistance proclamations quite stirring. The blending of music with script was well done.

In trying to assess what might have been the effectiveness of this operation, the review is constrained by having been limited to the tapes themselves, with no yardsticks to measure actual impact. The reviewer concludes, however, that if the SHERWOOD transmitter was powerful enough to get through clearly, and if there were enough short wave receivers in Guatemala (apparently they were quite common), then this operation must have been highly effective. It may not have had the impact on military officers that the specter of an invasion by US Marines might have had, but it surely must have energized some military personnel to resist, and influenced important sectors of Guatemalan society against communism, against the Arbenz regime, and in favor of the "Army of Liberation." The ability of the radio station to provide up-to-date military information (always cast in the rebels' favor), and to combine broadcasts with leaflet drops (Cassette #163), surely must have had considerable impact. Its regular transmission of operational messages to purported agents in Guatemala (including one named Cicero), as well as the representation of a raid on the broadcast site (Cassette #97), must, at a minimum, have attracted widespread interest and been the subject of considerable speculation. This was a very confident-sounding station which continually raised credible doubts about the regime's durability, while at the same time lionizing Castillo Armas and the rebel army, and stressing the inevitability of the liberation.

A fairly reliable chronological sequence can be established for the broadcast tapes up through 5 June. From that date until 28 June, it is more difficult to place them

in precise order, but the sequence provided is believed to be generally accurate. After 28 June, however, it appears that the speed of events may have precluded the recording of the broadcasts, for none of the tapes seem to fill well for the final days of 29 June through the station's closing on 2 July.

GENERAL NOTES

Period of Operation

Radio Liberation first came up on the air on 1 May 1954. It closed down on 2 July 1954.

Station Identification

On the air, the station variously identified itself as:

Radio Liberacion (by far the most commonly used name)
La Voz de la Liberacion para los Guatemaltecos
La Voz de la Liberacion Guatemalteca
La Voz de la Libertad

Frequencies

Throughout its period of operation, Radio Liberation used 6360 kilocycles as its daytime frequency. It initially used 3630 kilocycles at night, but on 8 May switched to 3420 kilocycles and remained there at night until the station was closed down.

Broadcast Hours

Initially, Radio Liberation broadcast from 0700 to 0800 and from 2100 to 2200. On 13 May it switched the first broadcast to 1300, and extended the second broadcast to two hours, from 2000 to 2200. On 29 May it cut the second broadcast back to one hour, starting at 2100. After the armed hostilities began, the station came up on the air more frequently, often changing its scheduling, and often coming up every hour or every 45 minutes.

Announcers

The station regularly used the services of three announcers, two male and one female. All three had excellent radio voices and elocution, and were able to read scripts with apparently genuine emotion. The women sounded particularly effective when addressing the women of Guatemala.

Recurring Program Segments

During its normal broadcasts prior to the beginning of actual armed hostilities (circa 15 June), Radio Liberation featured recurring program segments, each running for about 15 minutes:

- 1) Acusamos de Alta Traición [We Accuse of High Treason], featuring a recurring introduction, in fairly lofty language, about the virtues of the liberation movement's cause, the evils of communism and the treason committed by Guatemala's leaders. The introduction was always enhanced by dramatic background music.
- 2) Baila al Compas [sometimes Són] que le Toquen [Dance to the Rhythm They Play for You], musical programs with satirical "sponsorships" of various figures in the Arbenz regime, particularly police/security personalities and institutions. The language tended to be "slangy" with a local flavor.
- 3) Comunismo al Desnudo [Communism Disrobed], political commentary generally attacking communism.
- 4) Pegando Centro [Hitting the Bullseye]. This appeared only occasionally and lasted for just a minute or two. In each one a warning was given to a specific person, fully identified, for having hoarded illegal arms. The person was warned to turn the arms over to the nearest army installation or, in most cases, the arms would eventually be used against that person.
- 5) Miscelánea Musical del Aire [Musical Miscellany of the Airwaves], music interspersed with (low-brow) jokes, probably targeted at the less-educated sectors of Guatemalan society. Segment on which the verses of *La Profecía* and *Los Trinqueros* (see below) were taught.
- 6) Nuestra Campaña Radial [Our Radio Campaign], featuring relatively sophisticated discussions of communism and its impact on religion, labor, agriculture, land reform, etc.
- 7) La Noticia Atraves de Radio Liberación [The News Through Radio Liberation], quota news items selected and presented to support the station's political posture. Broadcasting of this segment began on 27 May.
- 8) Que Somos y Adonde Vamos [What We Are and Where We're Headed], political program which switched between attacking communism and explaining the goals of the liberation movement.
- 9) Rompiendo las Cadenas [Breaking the Chains], another relatively sophisticated segment frequently concentrating on economic issues.
- 10) En Alas de la Música Que No Reconoce Fronteras [On the Wings of Music That Knows No Boundaries] (20-30 minutes), music from around the world.
- 11) La Mujer y la Patria: Opiniones Femeninas Sobre el Problema Comunista [Women and the Fatherland: Feminine Opinions on the Communist Problem], a segment targeted at women, and always featuring the same female announcer speaking in the first person. She addressed women in their roles of the period, as Catholic wives and mothers. Strong religious content. Probably very effective.
- 12) Descanso En Ritmo [Musical Rest], top hits of North America.

- 1) *Acusamos de Alta Traición* [We Accuse of High Treason], featuring a recurring introduction, in fairly lofty language, about the virtues of the liberation movement's cause, the evils of communism and the treason committed by Guatemala's leaders. The introduction was always enhanced by dramatic background music.
- 2) *Baile al Compás* [Sometimes Soul like the Toqueon] [Dance to the Rhythm They Play for You], musical programs with satirical "sponsoredships" of various figures in the Arbenz regime, particularly police/security personalities and institutions. The language tended to be "slangy" with a local flavor.
- 3) *Comunismo al Desnudo* [Communism Disrobed], political commentary generally attacking communism.
- 4) *Pegando Centro* [Hitting the Bullseye]. This appeared only occasionally and lasted for just a minute or two. In each one a warning was given to a specific person, fully identified, for having hoarded illegal arms. This person was warned to turn the arms over to the nearest army installation or, in most cases, the arms would eventually be used against that person.
- 5) *Miscelánea Musical del Aire* [Musical Miscellany of the Airwaves], music interspersed with (low-brow) jokes, probably targeted at the less-educated sectors of Guatemalan society. Segment on which the verses of *La Profesía* and *Los Triqueteros* (see below) were taught.
- 6) *Nuestra Campaña Radial* [Our Radio Campaign], featuring relatively sophisticated discussions of communism and its impact on religion, labor, agriculture, land reform, etc.
- 7) *La Noticia Através de Radio Liberación* [The News Through Radio Liberation], quick news items selected and presented to support the station's political posture. Broadcasting of this segment began on 27 May.
- 8) *Que Somos y Adónde Vamos* [What We Are and Where We're Headed], political program which switched between attacking communism and explaining the goals of the liberation movement.
- 9) *Rompiendo las Cadenas* [Breaking the Chains], another relatively sophisticated segment frequently concentrating on economic issues.
- 10) *En Alas de la Música Que No Reconoce Fronteras* [On the Wings of Music That Knows No Boundaries] (20-30 minutes), music from around the world.
- 11) *La Mujer y la Patria: Opiniones Femeninas Sobre el Problema Comunista* [Women and the Fatherland: Feminine Opinions on the Communist Problem], a segment targeted at women, and always featuring the same female announcer speaking in the first person. She addressed women in their roles of the period, as Catholic wives and mothers. Strong religious content. Probably very effective.
- 12) *Descanso En Ritmo* [Musical Rest], top hits of North America.

- 13) Por los Senderos Mundiales de la Música y la Poesía [On the World Paths of Music and Poetry], poetry and classical music. Targeted at intellectual levels.
- 14) Sangre de Mártires [Blood of the Martyrs], dramatized accounts of abuses committed against anti-Communists. Some are graphic enough to be difficult to listen to.
- 15) Nuestra Lucha Al Servicio de la Libertad y la Democracia - Tribuna de la Libertad [Our Struggle in the Service of Freedom and Democracy - the Freedom Tribunal], dramatizations of various facets of developments within Guatemala.
- 16) Alma Chapina, a musical program featuring marimba music.

Humor

Most of the station's humor is used in *Miscelánea Musical del Aire*, a segment clearly targeted at workers, peasants, and the generally less well-educated. The station did not run the risk of having any of its humor go over its listeners' heads. A sampler:

"Oh, what a beautiful mule!"
 "That's a picture of Jacobo." [Cassette #3]

[Secretary of the Presidency, Jaime Diaz] *Pacurro* says to a friend, "My secretary really has me fired." "Well," says the friend, "don't chase her around so much." [Cassette #3]

Economy Minister Roberto Fargul sees a beautifully trained horse perfectly obeying the commands of its trainer. "How do you train your horse like that," he asked the trainer, "I tried it with my horse and it didn't work." "Well, Mr. Minister," said the trainer, "the problem is the trainer has to be more intelligent than the horse." [Cassette #11]

Arbenz says to his wife, "I'm going to fire my driver. Today was the third time he almost gets me killed."
 "Don't be that way," she responds, "why don't you give him another chance." [Cassette #11]

Maria Arbenz is reading the paper and says to her husband, "Wow, I never realized a woman could weigh that much!" "How heavy?" Arbenz asked. "It says here an English woman lost 3,000 pounds!" [Cassette #19]

Chief of staff at the palace: "Is the president drunk again?"
 President's valet: "I don't know, but it is unusual to see him try to take his pants off over his head." [Cassette #19]

"Jaime Diaz Rozzoto, you talk like a perfect idiot!"

"Mr. President, I have to speak that way for you to understand me!" [Cassette #23]

"Mrs. Arbenz is chatting with one of her husband's new aides, Ivan Nuskapop. 'I understand you were wounded in WWII,' she says.

"Yes, ma'am."

"And where were you wounded?"

"In the Dancanelles, ma'am."

"My, that must have been terribly painful!" [Cassette #34]

Q: How are the revolutionaries similar to the most modern aircraft?

A: Ever since they first heard Radio Liberation, they are jet-propelled! [Cassette #86]

Communist leader Jose Fortuny visits a friend, and notices that the friend's son stares at him unblinkingly.

"Why do you stare at me like that?"

"Because your father told me you are a self-made man."

"Well, yes, that's true, I am a self-made man."

"Well, why did you make yourself so ugly?" [Cassette #68]

Fortuny: "Do you permit your wife to do whatever she wishes?"

Guerra Borges: "No, she does it without my permission." [Cassette #105]

Public Health Minister Julio Roberto Herrera was touring an insane asylum, and spotted an inmate holding a fishing rod out the window, with the line going down to the garden below.

"What are you fishing for, my friend?" asked Herrera.

"Idiot," said the inmate.

"I see, and how many have you caught so far?"

"You're the ninth."

Sign On

The standard Sign On (Sign On I and Sign On II) intersperse the national anthem with the following refrain:

Sign On I

Atencion Guatemala! Atencion Guatemaltecos!

Radio Liberacion [occasionally inserts frequency here] les habla. Esta es la emisora clandestina Radio Liberacion, operando en su frecuencia [occasionally inserts frequency here] de onda corta y desde algun lugar secreto del territorio nacional. Escuchanos Usted y sabra la realidad del momento politico por que atraviesa Guatemala, y los progresos irrefutables del gran movimiento libertador. Durante el transcurso de nuestras transmisiones diarias, damos a Ustedes musica, comentarios y noticias en general, y demostramos palpablemente el crimen de la dominación comunista y la fuerza incontenible del movimiento libertador guatemalteco. En el aire [frequently inserts frequency here] los transmisores clandestinos de Radio Liberacion!

[Attention Guatemala! Attention Guatemalans! Radio Liberation [occasionally inserts frequency here] speaks to you. This is the clandestine transmitter Radio Liberation, operating on its short wave frequency [occasionally inserts frequency here] from a secret place in the national territory. Listen to us and you will know the reality of the political moment that Guatemala is going through, and the irrefutable progress of the great liberation movement. During our broadcasts we bring you music, commentaries and news in general, and we demonstrate clearly the crimes of the communist domination and the uncontrollable force of the Guatemalan liberation movement. The clandestine transmitters of Radio Liberation are on the air [occasionally inserts frequency here].]

Sign On II

Atencion Guatemala, Atencion Guatemaltecos. Esta es Radio Liberacion, la emisora clandestina de la oposicion anticomunista organizada del pais, dirigiendose a toda la nacion. Despues de un larga noche de buitres y de serpientes, se anuncia ya la aurora de un nuevo [glorioso] amanecer. Sol, redondo y nuevo, al levantarse sobre las montañas es saludado por nuestra eterna primavera. Guatemala esta en vísperas trascendentales cuando sus cadenas forjadas en los juncos comunistas se funden para convertirse en campanas. La hora esta llegando en que los altares cubiertos con crepón de luto, flaquean gloriosamente en el repique de la victoria. Guatemaltecos! La aurora de redencion se asoma a los horizontes de la patria. El gozo llena ya este valle de lagrimas. En las flamas del espanto, flamean los simbolos y las aspiraciones. Y en alto torse! galope revisando sus legiones, el dueño del patio tar, Santiago de las Caballeros. Una Guatemala embalsamada, cubierta con los harapos de la miseria política, del latrocinio, de la mentira y del crimen, va a resucitar muy pronto, arbolando su bandera azul y blanca, y anunciando a los cuatro vientos de la vida, que no morirá jamás. Guatemala ha sido secuestrada en los sótanos de la vergüenza y el delito, y nosotros estamos prontos a pagar el rescate con la sangre de nuestras venas, para verla libre y honrada. Y cada minuto mas es. Guatemaltecos, un minuto menos, un minuto más hacia la libertad y hacia la paz, un minuto menos de esclavitud y de vendimia, las horas de los rufianes estan contadas. Sobre sus cabezas vuelan ya las buitres famélicos, tienen miedo, tiemblan, y veis el pueblo entero el juez de los esclavos. Y a la tierra le da vergüenza sufrir [sufrir] los despojos de quienes la traicionaron, Guatemaltecos! La hora llega, esta proxima, escu... los horizontes, preguntad a los sentinelas de la patria. Pedimos a todos, hombres y mujeres, jóvenes y viejos, pobres y ricos, que nos presten su atencion, que mediten sobre el contenido de nuestros programas, que compacten sus filas bajo nuestra bandera que ostenta los simbolos de Dios, Patria, Libertad! Que se dispongan al sacrificio en aras de la redencion. En el aire los transmisores de Radio Liberacion, la emisora clandestina de Guatemala.

[Attention, Guatemala, attention, Guatemalans. This is Radio Liberation, the clandestine station of the country's organized anti-Communist opposition, addressing the entire nation. After a long night of vultures and serpents, the glow of a new and glorious dawn is upon us. A sun, new and round, rises above the mountains and is greeted by our eternal spring. Guatemala is on the eve of transcendental events, when its chains, forged in the communist sweatshops, are melted and transformed into bells. The hour is arriving in which the altars, draped in mourning, sprout gloriously in the glow of victory. Guatemalans! The aura of redemption sweeps across the horizons of the fatherland. Joy is spreading through this valley of tears. Our symbols and aspirations are aligning in our spirits. And the patron of our homeland, Santiago de las Caballeros, gallops on his white steed reviewing his legions. An embalmed [sic] Guatemala, draped in the rags of political misery, thievery, lying and crime, will soon resuscitate, flying her blue and white flag, and announcing to the four winds of life that she will never die. Guatemala has been kidnapped and sequestered in the bowels of shame and crime, and we are ready to pay the ransom with the blood in our veins, to see her

free and honored. And every minute more, Guatemalans, is one minute less, one minute toward liberty and peace, one minute less of slavery and exploitation; the hours of the ruffians are numbered. Already the starved vultures fly over their heads; they're afraid, they tremble, and it will be the whole people that judges the assassins. The earth is shamed by the disdain of those who betrayed it. Guatemalans! The hour is coming, it is near, scan the horizons, ask the sentinels of the fatherland. We ask everyone, men and women, young and old, poor and rich, to give us your attention, that you ponder the content of our programs, that you join ranks under our flag which bears the symbols of God, Fatherland, Liberty! That you be ready for sacrifice in the quest for redemption. The transmitters of Radio Liberation, Guatemala's clandestine station, are on the air.]

Sign Off

The standard Sign Off is as follows:

Contra el comunismo!

Contra los vicios del pasado!

Por una democracia verdadera!

Radio Liberación operando con su transmisor clandestino de onda corta en [inserts frequency here], desde algún lugar secreto en la República de Guatemala. Es en esta forma, guatemaltecos y amigos simpatizantes de nuestra noble causa, como hemos llegado al final de una transmisión más de Radio Liberación. Hemos operado con nuestro transmisor clandestino de onda corta en [inserts frequency here] situado en algún lugar secreto de la República. Y con la ayuda de Dios, y si las circunstancias nos lo permiten, volveremos a estar con Ustedes y donde ahora marca el cuadrante de su radio, en nuestras transmisiones del día de mañana, en la noche y al medio día como de costumbre. Gracias por hoy, y no olvide recomendar que escuchen estos programas. Colabore así con la más noble de las causas guatemaltecas.

Contra el comunismo!

Contra los vicios del pasado!

Por una democracia verdadera!

Dios, Patria, Libertad!

Radio Liberación se retira del espacio. Muy buenas noches.

[Against communism]

Against the vices of the past!

For a true democracy!

God, Country, Liberty!

Radio Liberation operating with its clandestine short wave transmitter on [occasionally inserts frequency here], from some secret place in the Republic of Guatemala. In this way, Guatemalans and sympathizing friends of our noble cause, we have arrived at the end of another broadcast of Radio Liberation. We have operated with our clandestine short wave transmitter at [inserts frequency here] situated at some secret place in the Republic. And with the help of God, and if circumstances permit, we will be with you again on this same spot on your radio dial with tomorrow's broadcasts, in the evening and at midday as usual. For today, thank you, and don't forget to recommend our programs to others. Collaborate in that way with the noblest of Guatemalan causes.

Against communism!

Against the vices of the past!

For a true democracy!

God, Country, Liberty!

Radio Liberation withdraws from this space. Good night.]

The "Ideological Decalogue" -- Why We Cannot Be Communists

This is a creed of sorts that is read, or quoted from, at various times over the air.

"We cannot be communists because communists....

...denies the existence of God as beginning and end of the purest ideals of the human being, and attempts to instill the antithesis of historical materialism, confusing effects with causes.

...places the values and interests of the party over those of the fatherland, and the fatherland has a primacy which no one can change without engaging in the most vile treason.

...cannot allow that freedom is indispensable for human life, nor does it recognize the majesty of the law.

...destroys faith, ideals and the spirit of individual self-improvement, without which human progress is impossible. Communism does not understand that faith, ideals and the spirit of improvement have been the fountains from which have sprung prosperity, well-being, greatness and civilization.

...ignores the existence of moral values. And man without morality is no better than the animals that exist in his natural world, and lacks the capacity to distinguish between good and evil.

...destroys the formative school of the home, the foundation of all social life, of morality, cooperation, humanitarianism.

...is based on absurdities. It imposes ideological equality and of satisfactions, an equality which even nature denies us. Communism believes it essential to pull back those in front, so those behind can catch up with them. It destroys the existent, to create a new order, rather than improving what is considered unsatisfactory.

...has as its only visible achievements to date the enslavement of millions of workers, thousands of concentration camps, and millions of cadavers shouting from the afterlife that they preferred death to misery, death to the subjugation of man to a ration of bread on one hand, and the specter of the whip on the other.

...exploits envy, and all the low passions that the inept holds for the capable, that the lazy man holds for the working man, the vice-ridden holds for the virtuous, the haves hold for the have nots.

... considers work to be an instrument of enslavement, and not a noble attribute which permits the human being to satisfy his aspirations, closing the door to the initiatives of the worker, and demanding from him a total subjugation of ideas and actions.

The "Military Decalogue"

The Military Decalogue is read in its entirety on Cassette #42, 16 May, and then quoted from in subsequent broadcasts.

El Decálogo Militar comprende honor, patriotismo, lealtad, carácter, disciplina, dignidad, compañerismo, fe, valor, abnegación.

Honor, síntesis de las virtudes militares y el más alto atributo en la escala de los valores virtudes humanas. Es una religión sin cuya práctica no se concibe la existencia del verdadero militar.

Patriotismo. Amor, el más puro hacia el suelo que nos vio nacer. Conexión del que nos une a los padres y a los hijos, y a todo cuanto es vida del pueblo y porvenir de la patria. Sin su permanente ejercicio, jamás podrá el militar cumplir los sagrados fines de la institución, y los inposponibles deberes de la nacionalidad.

Lealtad. Llave de seguridad de quien nos entrega el tesoro de su confianza, y el don invaluable de su amistad. En el militar es condición consustancial porque sin ella no podrá ser garante del orden, defensor de las instituciones, sentinela de la patria.

Disciplina. Rigurosa observancia de las normas que justifican las jerarquías morales. El grado de su perfección está en la correlación que debe existir entre la jerarquía de esas virtudes y la escala de los grados militares. Sin esa correlación no existe la disciplina militar.

Carácter. Distintivo inconfundible de quien es firme en sus propósitos y fiel a sus deberes. En el ejército, el trasunto del alma nacional. Genuina expresión de la institución armada. No se concibe un militar falto de ese distintivo.

Compañerismo. Vínculo indestructible que une a los hombres forjados en idénticas disciplinas, y en la realización de los mismos ideales. Esa espiritual fortalece el ánimo, eleva la moral, y caracteriza al ejército como el hogar del soldado.

Dignidad. Es... conducta en los fines esenciales del hombre. En el militar provee, es antorcha que guía su espíritu y calidad que ennoblecen sus actos.

Fa. Luz que ilumina el espíritu, fortalece la voluntad y mantiene permanentemente encendida la antorcha de la esperanza. Sin ella, el militar carece del acedro que hace invencible el espíritu, inquebrantable el propósito.

Abnegación. Integro y voluntario sacrificio para defender las grandes causas, y realizar las más caras ideales. En el militar, es motivo de honda satisfacción y legítimo orgullo.

Valor. Fortaleza del espíritu frente al peligro. Dignidad en la derrota. Generosidad en la victoria. A su poderoso influjo, el militar cumple con su deber. Elude la complicidad. Muere antes que rendirse.

[Martial music.] Honor, patriotismo, lealtad, carácter, disciplina, dignidad, camaraderie, fe, valor, abnegación. Este es el Decálogo Militar. [Martial music.]

[The Military Decalogue includes honor, patriotism, loyalty, character, discipline, dignity, camaraderie, faith, valor, abnegation.]

Honor. Synthesis of military virtues and highest attribute on the scale of human values...it is a religion without the practice of which true military existence cannot be imagined.

Patriotism. The purest of loves for the soil on which we were born. That which joins us to parents and children, and to everything about the life of our people and future of the fatherland. Without its constant practice, the military man can never meet the sacred tasks of the institution, and the imperative duties of our nationality.

Loyalty. The security key from he who gives us the treasure of his confidence and friendship. In the soldier it is a vital condition because without it he could not be a guarantor of order, defender of institutions, guardian of the fatherland.

Discipline. Rigorous observance of the norms which justify moral hierarchies. Its degree of perfection depends on the correlation that must exist between the hierarchy of those virtues and the military grade scale. Without that correlation there is no military discipline.

Character. Distinguishing feature of he who is firm of purpose and faithful in his duties. In the army, the basis of the national soul. Genuine expression of the armed forces. A soldier without this attribute is inconceivable.

Camaraderie. Indestructible link that unites men forged in identical disciplines, and in the realization of the same ideals. That spiritual strengthens enthusiasm, raises morale, and characterizes the army as the soldier's home.

Dignity. of man's essential purposes. For the soldier, it is the torch that guides his spirit, the quality that ennobles his acts.

Faith. The light that illuminates the spirit, fortifies the will and maintains the torch of hope permanently lit. Without it, the soldier lacks the shield that makes the spirit invincible, the will unbreakable.

Abnegation. Integral and voluntary sacrifice to defend the great causes and to attain the most precious ideals. In a soldier it is motive for profound satisfaction and legitimate pride.

Valor. The spirit's strength in the face of danger. Dignity in defeat. Magnanimity in victory. Through its generous influx the soldier does his duty, eludes complicity, dies before surrendering.

(Martial music.) Honor, patriotism, loyalty, character, discipline, camaraderie, faith, valor, abnegation. This is the Military Decalogue.
(Martial Music.)

Refrains

The station made liberal use of recurring refrains throughout its broadcasts. The one labeled Refrain 2 was clearly the station's common call, and was featured on virtually every air appearance. Usually several times. Occasionally an announcer would stumble over a refrain (as well as in the regular program segments), making its meaning somewhat obscure. The fact that the time was not taken to turn back the recorders and do it again suggests that the station's programming was produced under tight time constraints.

- Refrain 2** *Todo Guatemalteco debe tener en su lucha contra el comunismo por símbolos Dios, Patria y Libertad por aspiraciones Justicia, Verdad y Trabajo. El engrandecimiento de la patria merece sus más fervientes preocupaciones. Contra el comunismo! Contra los vicios del pasado! Por una democracia verdadera! Este es Radio Liberación (para los Guatemaltecos) operando con su humilde estación de onda corta [occasionally inserts frequency here], y desde algún lugar secreto de la República de Guatemala.*
[Every Guatemalan should have as symbols in his struggle against communism, God, Country and Liberty; as aspirations Justice, Truth and Work. The aggrandizement of the country merits your deepest concerns. Against communism! Against the vices of the past! For a true democracy! This is Radio Liberation (for Guatemalans) operating on its clandestine short wave transmitter [occasionally inserts frequency here], from some secret place in the Republic of Guatemala.]
- Refrain 3** *Óigame [sometimes misheard] guatemalteco, importante a ti recuerda. La Patria reclama tu amor y tu esfuerzo. No permitas que líderes comunistas robanen tus derechos.*
[Guatemalan worker, wake up to reality. The fatherland calls out for your love and your effort. Don't let the communist leaders spoil your rights.]
- Refrain 4** *La lealtad se debe a la patria antes que a los hombres. Combatla a los comunistas y a los traidores.*
[Loyalty is owed to the fatherland before it is to men. Combat the communists and their treasonous work.]
- Refrain 5** *Ciudadano! Que el azul y blanco del cielo reflejen en tu bandera no sea suplantado por la oscura sombra de la guerra y la barbarie.*
[Citizen! Let the sky's blue and white reflected in your flag not be supplanted by the communist symbols of war and barbarity.]
- Refrain 6** *Guatemalteco! No legues a tus hijos la vergonzosa herencia de una patria esclavizada.*
[Guatemalan! Don't leave to your children the shameful legacy of an enslaved fatherland.]
- Refrain 7** *Verdad, Justicia y Trabajo. Fórmula teológica y social. Triángulo equilateral de los ideales de la patria. Trílogo sagrado de un hombre que quiere inventar sobre el rostro del pueblo adormido por los vicios. Verdad es el hombre, Justicia es el pueblo, Trabajo es la república. Tres franjas de una bandera que ya empieza a mostrar en sus alfileres de la separación.*
[Truth, Justice and Work. A theological and social formula. An equilateral triangle of the ideals of the fatherland. Sacred trilogy of a vigorous people that wants to rise above the immense apoplexy opened by the vices. Truth in man, Justice in the people, Work in the republic. Three stripes of a flag that already begins to wave in the spirit of hope.]

- Refrain 8: El gobierno traidor de Jacobo Arbenz oculta farsineamente a cada momento y y en cuanto oportunidad tiene a mano, que Guatemala no es una colonia de los Estados Unidos. Pero lo interesante tiene saber si Guatemala es, en cambio, una colonia soviética. Porque no despiere esta incógnita, comarades, y entonces los que los naciones iberos del concierto continental digan que nosotros somos la vergüenza de América. [The traitorous government of Jacobo, whenever it has the opportunity, farsineally shoals that Guatemala is not a colony of the United States. It would be interesting to know, on the other hand, if Guatemala is a soviet colony. Why don't you clear up this mystery, comrades, so that we can avoid having the five nations of the continent saying that we are the shame of America.]
- Refrain 9: Los espías comunistas gofean por donde quieren en nuestro territorio. Los guatemaltecos comunistas del espionaje que los gofean, deben abstenerse de sus demasiadas comunicaciones. [The communist spies go wherever they want in our territory. Guatemaltecos, aware of the espionage that surrounds them, should refrain from being overly communicative.]
- Refrain 10: El gobierno de Jacobo Arbenz, impulsado por el partido comunista, va hacia el control absoluto de la economía. Y como en Rusia soviética, por la supresión de los frentes de negocio, apropiándose de sus haberes y sujeción a la firma empresa, lo que destruye el progreso y perjudica de hecho los intereses del pueblo. [The government of Jacobo Arbenz, impelled by the communist party, aims for total control of the economy. And as in soviet Russia, in the suppression of men of business, appropriating their goods and suppressing free enterprise, all of which destroys progress and afflicts the interests of the people.]
- Refrain 11: Cuando los líderes se enriquecen a costas del pueblo y cuando ya están hartos de dinero abandonan la causa y salen del país. Fortuna ya estuvo con a Moscu. [When the leaders enrich themselves behind the backs of the people and then get tired of the money, they abandon the cause and leave the country. Fortune has already amounted his brief to Moscow.]
- Refrain 12: A pesar de que el pueblo oprimido guatemalteco, una rama al servicio de la rusa soviética, es un pequeño grupo en la masa electoral de la nación, controla en silencio al gobierno de Jacobo Arbenz. [Even though the Guatemalan communist party, a branch in the service of Soviet Russia, is a tiny group in the electoral mass of the nation, it nevertheless controls the government of Jacobo Arbenz.]
- Refrain 13: La párcitos de Guatemala están regidos de comunismo, especialmente de estudiantes universitarios, porque así lo ordenan los líderes comunistas. [The jails of Guatemala are full of antisemitism, especially university students, because it is so ordered by the communist leaders.]
- Refrain 14: Nosotras luchamos por el comunismo libre, para la organización de trabajadores para obtener mejores condiciones de trabajo y un mejoramiento efectivo económico y social. Pero nos oponemos y luchamos contra la mentira, la falsedad y el fraude. [We fight for free trade unionism, for the organization of workers so they can enjoy better working conditions and economic and social improvement. But we oppose and fight against lying, falsity and fraud.]
- Refrain 15: Guatemala es el único país americano donde el comunismo ha echado raíces, pero se precho actuar prontamente acciones para erradicarlo y evitar así que el pulpo rojo cubriera sus tentáculos a los otros países de América. [Guatemala is the only American country in which communism has laid roots, but it is necessary to take measures to eradicate it and thereby prevent the red octopus from spreading its tentacles into other American countries.]

- Refrain 15 *El comunismo es el imperialismo más voraz y sanginario que haya cobijado la humanidad, pues no tiene Dios, no tiene patria, no tiene hogar. [Communism is the bloodiest and most voracious imperialism ever known by humanity, for it has no God, no fatherland, no home.]*
- Refrain 17 *Influenciado por sus amos en el Kremlin, los líderes comunistas guatemaltecos han estado predicando la violencia como medio de lograr objetivos prácticos, ya que a ellos poco les importa la vida de los guatemaltecos. [Influenced by their Kremlin patrons, the Guatemalan communist leaders have been preaching violence as the means to attain practical objectives, for they have no concern for the life of Guatemalans.]*
- Refrain 18 *El pueblo de Guatemala no se ha dejado seducir por el ego del comunismo, pero algunos guatemaltecos han sido engañados y militan en esas truchas filas. [The people of Guatemala have not allowed themselves to be intoxicated by the communist opium, but some Guatemalans have been fooled and have joined those treacherous ranks.]*
- Refrain 19 *Los trabajadores nunca consideran al comunismo una fuerza progresista, que represente la opresión política más brutal que pueda suponerse, y una explotación económica queva su beneficio de un estado visible y tangible. [Free workers consider communism to be a regressive force that represents the most brutal political oppression imaginable, and an unfair economic exploitation in benefit of an insensitive and totalitarian state.]*
- Refrain 20 *La felicidad futura de la América Latina depende del debido aprovechamiento de sus recursos naturales mediante la cooperación armoniosa de los trabajadores y las empresas. [The future happiness of Latin America depends on the proper exploitation of its natural resources through harmonious cooperation between workers and enterprises.]*
- Refrain 21 *La satisfacción sólo de haber servido a la patria será para vosotros una recompensa más gloriosa que recibir los títulos y laureles con que se premia al mundo. [The satisfaction that comes just from having served the fatherland will be for you a compensation more glorious than all the titles and laurels with which merit is rewarded.]*
- Refrain 22 *Hombres y mujeres de Guatemala. Un soldado de libertad vale más que mil esclavos del comunismo. Si crees en Dios, si crees en tu patria, si crees en libertad, Ancha como el universo. [Men and women of Guatemala. One soldier of liberty is worth more than a thousand slaves of communism.]*
- Refrain 23 *Verdad en el hombre, justicia en el pueblo, trabajo en la república, tres franjes de una bandera que va empezando a florecer en las almeas de la esperanza. [Truth in man, justice among the people, work in the republic, three stripes of a flag that is beginning to wave in the breeze of hope.]*
- Refrain 24 *Los guatemaltecos no aceptamos la dirección de Rusia en nuestros asuntos internos, y no queremos ser una dependencia política y social de la Unión de las Repúblicas Rusas (UR). Por eso luchamos para extirpar con el régimen del gobierno de nuestra patria. [We Guatemalans do not accept the direction of Russia in our internal affairs, and we do not want to be a political and social dependency of the Union of Russian Republics (UR). That's why we fight to exterminate the regime of the government of our country.]*
- Refrain 25 *Por mi patria y por mi palabra de honor, y por el juramento para mí solemnemente an mi nombre, y en el pueblo anticomunista del país, que no tememos, no contraemos, ningún compromiso, ni hacemos cosa alguna que atente contra los sagrados y supremos intereses de la nación. Plébanos del Corone Carlos Castillo Armas. [On my country and on my word of honor, and that for me is an oath, I solemnly declare in my name, and in that of the anticommunist people of the country, and we have not and will not contract any commitment, nor do anything that would be against the sacred and supreme interests of the nation. Words of Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas.]*

- Refrain 25. Los partidos comunistas son en todas partes la vanguardia de la política soviética. Los partidos comunistas en todo el mundo instrumentos de la política exterior del Kremlin, de tanta importancia para Malenkov como para sus servidores en el extranjero. *Guatemaltecos!* No nos prestemos a servir los designios de la Rusia soviética y su ambición de poder y de sometimiento del mundo. [Communist parties everywhere are the vanguard of Soviet policy. Communist parties around the world are the instruments of the Kremlin's foreign policy, of such interest to both Malenkov and to its servants abroad. *Guatemaltecos!* Let us not serve the designs of Soviet Russia and its ambition for power and world subjugation.]
- Refrain 27. El magisterio del movimiento comunista, al acudir al Vaticano recientemente religioso, ha obligado al Vaticano a recordar a todos los católicos que cuatro años atrás promulgó el decreto del santo oficio excomulgando a los adherentes del comunismo. [The machievellian communist movement's avoidance of openly religious attitudes (sic) has forced the Vatican to remind all Catholics that four years ago a Vatican decree excommunicated all adherents of communism.]
- Refrain 28. Los comunistas no publican fotografías de sus campos de concentración donde trabajan como si fueran ya no esclavos sino peor que esclavos de carga. [The communists don't publish pictures of their concentration camps where people work as if they are no longer slaves but worse than beasts of burden.]
- Refrain 29. Los comunistas guatemaltecos quieren para Guatemala los campos de concentración soviéticos donde los seres humanos son sistemáticamente asesinados cuando ya no sirven para producir, ya sea porque envejecen o porque se debilitan sus fuerzas espirituales por sufrimiento y/o enfermedad. [Guatemalan communists want for Guatemala the Soviet concentration camps where human beings are systematically assassinated when they are no longer productive, be it because of old age, or because they lose their strength as a result of suffering and sickness.]
- Refrain 30. El comunismo ha convertido en esclavos a millones de seres humanos, y sistemáticamente quiere borrar el nombre de Dios y la dignidad humana sobre la tierra. [Communism has converted millions of human beings into slaves, and wants to systematically erase the name of God and human dignity from the Earth.]
- Refrain 31. Dios, nuestro señor, una vez derrotado esa bestia apocalíptica del comunismo, en su última misericordia, hará que el mundo pueda reinar de paz de Cristo en el reino de Cristo. [God, our Lord, once the apocalyptic beast of communism is dominated, will let the world have the peace of Christ in the reign of Christ.]
- Refrain 32. El comunismo fomenta la carencia de alimentos y de los más necesarios medios de subsistencia para exasperar al pueblo y hacerlo caer en las angustiosas situaciones, que al régimen comunista parecen mejores su estado de vida. [Communism encourages the shortage of food and other basic necessities of subsistence in order to to exasperate the poor and make them think, in such a painful situation, that the communist system can improve their standard of living.]
- Refrain 33. El dique histórico anticomunista es, y ha sido la palada y acción social de la Iglesia. *Guatemaltecos*, la Iglesia es de esa aldea del orbe, que no hay nadie en la tierra que no la padezca. [The dike against communism is, and has been the social action of the Church. *Guatemaltecos*, the Church is of that village of the world, that no one in the world does not suffer from.]
- Refrain 34. La Iglesia, por medio de sus pastores, debe enfrentarse al comunismo con el arma que posee: *justicia social*, y *caridad cristiana*. [The Church, through its priests, seeks to confront communism with the weapons it has: social justice and Christian charity.]

- Refrain 35 Los líderes comunistas de Guatemala se han aprovechado de la reforma agraria para enriquecerse. Esa organización está plagada de una burocracia rutinizada y corruptora, que solo favorece a los adherentes egoísta ya que es un instrumento político del comunismo. [The communist leaders of Guatemala have taken advantage of agrarian reform to enrich themselves. That organization is plagued by a routinized and corrupting bureaucracy that only favors communist adherents because it is a political instrument of communism.]
- Refrain 36 La iglesia en materia de justicia social es intrínseca al favor del proletariado y desde tiempos inmemoriales viene predicando a los poderosos, no solo su obligación de dar al que no tiene, sino la justicia social que necesita la iglesia sin pagarla. [In matters of social justice the church is intrinsigued in favor of the proletariat, and since time immemorial has been preaching to the powerful not only their obligation to give to those that have not, but the social justice that the church recognizes unhesitatingly.]
- Refrain 37 Con la reforma agraria, aplicado de acuerdo con los sistemas soviéticos, lo que el comunismo guatemalteco pretende es convertir a los _____ a la condición de parcos o lotes. [With agrarian reform, applied in accordance with the soviet systems, what Guatemalan communism intends is to convert the _____ into parks or lots.]
- Refrain 38 Guatemalteco: si quieres a tu Dios, si amas a tu patria, si defiendes tu libertad, lucha contra el comunismo. [Guatemalan, if you love God, if you love your fatherland, if you defend your freedom, fight against communism.]
- Refrain 39 Dios, Patria, Libertad: vamos a conjugar esas tres creativas verbos (sic), y de ellos brotara una nación perfectamente gramatical y perfectamente filosófica, de un gran amor de una Guatemala libre, justa, soberana e independiente. [God, Fatherland, Liberty, we're going to conjugate those three creative verbs (sic), and from them will sprout a perfectly grammatical and perfectly philosophical nation, the eternal prayer of a free, just, sovereign and independent Guatemala.]
- Refrain 40 La campaña que estamos librando no atiende a otro interés que arrojar a los estadistas del poder político al maragnán porche. Es la campaña de todos los guatemaltecos. [The campaign we are waging has no interest other than to throw the statistes out of public power in our country. It is the campaign of all Guatemalans.]
- Refrain 41 Guatemaltecos: hay que salvar a la patria. Poco a poco se salvará el momento. Poco a poco, pero seguramente. Todos los guatemaltecos deben prepararse a salvar a la patria, arrojar a los comunistas, y al nefasto gobierno que encabeza Jacobo Arbenz ante su representante. Guatemaltecos, muy como en lo ya el día, la voz de la liberación lo anuncia, y el ejército liberador llegara en sus corceles triunfadores. ¡Gloria, justicia de Guatemala! ¡Hay porfiria serena tres. [Guatemalans, the country must be saved. Little by little, but surely. All Guatemalans should get ready to save the fatherland, throw out the communists and the nefarious government headed by Jacobo Arbenz as their representative. Guatemalans, the day is now near, the voice of liberations announces it, and the army of liberation will arrive on its triumphant steeds. On the alert, people of Guatemala.]
- Refrain 42 No hay compromisos con nadie. Quem algo lo cobrará pendi que ser un martirio. Guatemala sera salvada con la sangre de sus hijos y confortada con el amor de su pueblo. [There are no commitments with anyone. Whoever keeps the country is a bar. Guatemala will be saved by the blood of her sons, and comforted by the love of her people.]

- Refrain 43 *En las encíclicas papales Rerum Novarum, Divina Redemptio, y Cuadragesimo Anno, contemplaron ampliamente el problema obrero y campesino del mundo, y proponen como medios inmediatos para combatir la pobreza y el atraso de esas clases sociales, la reforma agraria, mejora de los salarios, en tal forma que se contempló el problema familiar, además de las necesidades personales de los obreros y campesinos. [The papal encyclicals Rerum Novarum, Divina Redemptio and Cuadragesimo Anno amply contemplate the problems of the world's workers and peasants, and propose agrarian reform and improvement of salaries as immediate methods to combat the poverty and backwardness that afflict those social classes, in such a way that the problem of the family is contemplated as well as the personal needs of the workers and peasants.]*
- Refrain 44 *Es falso que la Iglesia católica esté en favor de los intereses de los capitalistas, como lo afirman los Guetos Borjes. Por lo contrario, los grandes papas de la Iglesia como León XIV, Pío XI y Pío XII, promulgaron las famosas encíclicas Rerum Novarum, Divina Redemptio y Cuadragesimo Anno. [It is false that the Christian church is in favor of the interests of the capitalists, as claimed by the likes of Gerro Borjes. On the contrary, the great hierarchy of the church like Leo XII, Pius XI and Pius XII, promulgated the famous encyclicals Rerum Novarum, Divina Redemptio and Cuadragesimo Anno.]*
- Refrain 45 *No tenemos compromisos con nadie. Ni con gobiernos, ni con monopolios, ni con extranjeros. Solamente los tenemos para a patria, la que queremos libre, soberana, e independiente y en la que estaremos en poder y florir una verdadera democracia, dando el respeto al derecho de los demás sin permitirles tranquilizarse. Y esta es la gran conspiración en la que estamos comprometidos. El pueblo guatemalteco se levanta y separamos de espaldas de la justicia los amigos del poder. Ya estos Arbenz y compañeros de donde saquen los rifles, las bombas y las fusiles, y saben que el pueblo de Guatemala no negociará su dignidad, no pone en peligro la soberanía para volver a la patria. Ahí, los enviados a Moscú, los traidores a la democracia, los corruptos y vengados, tendrán que rendirse a esa hermosa realidad. Guatemala será libre con la sangre de sus hijos, y dignificada con el amor de su pueblo. [We have no commitments to anyone. Neither to governments, monopolies or strangers. Only to the fatherland, which we want free, sovereign and independent, and in which we aspire to see born a true democracy, wherein respect for the rights of others permits us to live tranquilly. This is the great conspiracy in which we are involved. The people of Guatemala will rise and, wielding the sword of justice, throw them from power. Arbenz and his cronies will find out where the planes, bombs and rifles come from, and they will find out that the people of Guatemala do not negotiate their dignity and don't endanger their sovereignty to save the country. They, those sold to Moscow, the traitors of democracy, the liars and thugs, will have to surrender to that beautiful reality. Guatemala will be freed by the blood of its sons, and dignified with the love of its people.]*
- Refrain 46 *Es falso que nosotros hayamos vertido compromisos que menoscaban la soberanía nacional, o que cedamos al servicio de alguien que no sea la causa noble de la liberación de Guatemala. Por mi patria y por mi palabra de honor, y bajo un juramento para mí, declaro solemnemente que no cedí y en aquel pueblo anticomunista del país, que no tenemos ni compromisos, ni tenemos cosa alguna que oponer contra los sagrados y supremos intereses de la nación, y que no dejaremos de luchar por hasta liquidar definitivamente al imperialismo, impetrado y representado por Jacobo Arbenz, y su grupo marcial, y que con aquel imperio y diseminación, lucharemos hasta conseguir una auténtica democracia en nuestro sagrado suelo a cuyo amparo se vive en temores y en el goce de una ilegítima justicia social que haga verdaderamente efectivas las aspiraciones de mejoramiento de la clase trabajadora. — Palabras del Coronel Carlos Castillo Armas.*

[It is false that we have contracted commitments that undermine our national sovereignty, or that we are at the service of anyone who isn't the salvation of Guatemala. On my country and my word of honor, and that for me is an oath, I declare in my name and in that of the anti-Communist people of the country, that we do not have and will not have and commitment, nor will we do anything against the sacred and supreme interests of the nation, and that we will not quit the struggle until having definitively liquidated the anti-fatherlandism implanted and represented by Arbenz and his Marxist group, and that with the same determination we will struggle until consolidating an authentic democracy on our sacred soil under whose protection one can live without fear, and enjoy a legitimate social justice that will truly reward the working class' aspirations for improvement. - Words of Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas.]

- Refrein 47 *Los comunistas pretenden esclavizar a la clase obrera y siempre se refieren doctrina del dolor, la doctrina de la miseria, la doctrina de la explotación, la doctrina de la producción, la doctrina del asfalto, y en resumen, rechazan la doctrina comunista. [The communists intend to enslave the worker and peasant classes that they are the only ones interested in solving their problems and anxieties, which is totally false because the catholic church was the first so interested.]*
- Refrein 48 *Los católicos guatemaltecos rechazan siempre y siempre se refieren doctrina del dolor, la doctrina de la miseria, la doctrina de la explotación, la doctrina de la producción, la doctrina del asfalto, y en resumen, rechazan la doctrina comunista. [We catholic Guatemalans reject now and forever the nefarious doctrine of pain, the doctrine of misery, the doctrine of slavery, the doctrine of prostitution, the doctrine of asphalt and, in summation, we reject the doctrine of communism.]*
- Refrein 49 *Los líderes comunistas, si hasta ellos mismo se desquedan entre sí, como va a producir nada realmente humano sobre un pueblo dirigido por tal clase de gente? [If communist leaders even beat each other apart, how can anything truly human be produced among a people led by that class of people?]*
- Refrein 50 *El comunismo ha esclavizado a la humanidad precisamente por su odio a la religión, por su fe ciego en la materia, y por su rechazo al espíritu. [Communism has esclavized humanity precisely because of its hatred for religion, its blind faith on the matter, and its denial of the spirit.]*
- Refrein 51 *El gobierno comunista de Jacobo Arbenz ha recibido armas del soviet para atacarlas contra el pueblo anticomunista de Guatemala que lo repudia. También están enviando proxenetas para corromper el fuerte sector del ejército anticomunista de nuestra patria. Por aquí estamos nosotros para impedirlo. [Jacobo Arbenz' communist government] has received arms from the soviet that will be used against the anticomunist people of Guatemala that rejects it. They will also be used again against the strong sector of our country's anticomunist army. But we are here to prevent it.]*
- Refrein 52 *"Todo se hace en el Soviet bajo los emblemas de la nueva religión del odio, y es esa la religión que los comunistas usaron para transplantar a Guatemala." [Everything is done in the Soviet under the emblems of the new religion of hate, and that is the religion that our native communists have transplanted to Guatemala.]*
- Refrein 53 *"El fraude comunista muestra al mundo lo que no existe para engañar a los masas de otros países, enseñándoles el camino de la trampa a su patria y a sus propias tradiciones." [The communist fraud shows the world what doesn't exist in order to fool the masses of other countries, leading them the road to treason against their country and their own traditions.]*

- Refrain 54 "Hacia el comunismo la religión tiene que desaparecer cuando, según ellos, se hayan transformado las condiciones económicas y la tierra se haya convertido en el cielo hacia el cual avanza el comunismo." [For communism, religion must disappear when according to them, economic conditions have changed and the Earth has become the Heaven toward which communism advances.]
- Refrain 55 Los comunistas quisieran que todos, absolutamente todos, bajaran la cabeza ante ellos, que nadie dijera nada en su contra; y que cuando de hecho digiera que Attila avanzaba por sobre la fuerza de los comunistas que frente a los problemas sociales deben encontrar en el comunismo la panacea de todos sus males. [The communists would like for everyone, absolutely everyone, to lower their heads before them, say nothing against them, and, dead from fear, allow Attila to advance across their consciences that in the face of social problems would believe communism to be the panacea of all their ills.]
- Refrain 56 Los comunistas anhela no as que ayudar y apoyen sinceramente al traidor Arbenz, sino que lo usen y que al llevarlo al patíbulo cuando se les repita a algo. Y ellos ya tienen la suficiente fuerza para hacerlo. [It's not that our native communists sincerely help and support the traitor Arbenz, rather they use him and they will dump him whenever he offers any resistance. And they have the strength to do it.]
- Refrain 57 El comunismo guatemalteco trata de imponerse cruelmente bajo la capa de humanitarias acciones para los oprimidos guatemaltecos, a los que hoy tienen para que le ayuden en su campaña devastadora para reducir a trabajo forzado y a la peor de las miserias a los millones de trabajadores que los ayudan a poder al poder. [Guatemalan communism tries to impose itself under the cover of social redresses for the unfortunate classes, which they call upon today to help them in their devastating campaign, so as tomorrow be able to send the very workers who helped them climb to power them to forced labor and the worst of miseries.]
- Refrain 58 Porque si el comunismo para nosotros tiene que dividir, y a los que lo favorece hoy los manda a la horca rusa, como ha sido la negra y trágica historia de Rusia, país que desde el principio del mundo ha asesinado al mayor número de trabajadores. [In order to justify itself communism must divide, and send those whom it favors today to the gallows tomorrow, as has been the black and tragic history of Russia, a country that from the beginning of the world has murdered the greatest number of workers.]
- Refrain 59 "La política sindical comunista ataca al sindicato. Lo destruye, y acaba por matarlo. Lo que a devorarlo genera a sus propios fines, lo que a destruir. Con esa política sindical comunista se va a terminar el movimiento de la liberación de Guatemala." [Communist trade union policy suffocates the trade union. It deforms the union, and ends up by killing it. If this the union to advance incompatible with the union's purposes, it links it to Moscow. The Guatemalan liberation movement is going to put an end to that communist labor policy.]
- Refrain 60 En el paraíso soviético todos los hombres se convierten en pobres piezas de una máquina, la que cuando no funciona bien, son arrojados sin compasión al fuego y sustituidos por otros. [In the Soviet paradise, all men are converted into poor pieces of a machine and, when it doesn't work well, they are thrown into the trash and replaced by others.]
- Refrain 61 Ni Dios, ni religión ni patria ni amor ni sentimientos, nada noble goza el esclavo de ese régimen comunista, cuyos celos se han multiplicado en Guatemala, y pretende como gigantesco pulpo a imponer a nuestra patria. [Not God, nor religion, nor fatherland, nor love, nor sentiment are enjoyed by the slaves of the communist regime, whose cells have multiplied in Guatemala, and which intends, like a giant octopus, to squish our fatherland.]

- Refain 82 *El gran problema del comunismo guatemalteco afiliado a la CGTG es la confusión premeditada que el comunismo hace de los sindicatos con la política. El trabajador de carne y hueso se convierte así en un número, en un personaje, para que tropen por encima los líderes, los políticos oportunistas al estilo Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, Peláez, Fortuny, etc. (The great problem of Guatemalan trade unionism affiliated with the CGTG is the premeditated confusion communism creates between unions and politics. The worker of flesh and blood is thereby converted into a number, into a [personae], so that the leaders, the political opportunists in the style of Víctor Manuel Gutiérrez, Peláez, Fortuny, etc., can climb over him.)*
- Refain 83 *Estamos contra el comunismo; los guatemaltecos que somos amigos de cuanto signifique engaña, engaño, y sobre todo, capacidad de adaptación para sobrevivir, especialmente a ambientes donde el hombre goza de la libertad de hacer lo que le ordenan. (We're against communism, we Guatemalans who are enemies of anything that means trickery, intrigue, and, especially, the capacity to adapt to survive in duplicitation in environments where man enjoys the freedom to do what he is told. [sic])*
- Refain 84 *En el paraíso soviético ningún trabajador puede exigir aumento de salario, o dejar una herencia a sus hijos, cambiar de ocupación, y salir a viajar libremente al extranjero, ni hacer, ni creer en Dios. (In the Soviet paradise, no worker can demand a salary increase, or leave an inheritance to his children, change his occupation, travel outside his country, pray, or believe in God.)*
- Refain 85 *Una banda de miserables desventurados dirige los más altos destinos de la Rusia soviética. Esa banda tiene sus representantes en Guatemala, cuyo gobierno está corrompido por ellos. Esa es la situación en nuestra patria. (A band of miserable people without souls direct the highest destinies of soviet Russia. That band has its representatives in Guatemala, whose government is controlled by them. That's the situation in our country.)*
- Refain 86 *En el empobrecimiento de los líderes, en continuos viajes al exterior en compra de armamento comunista, porque el que le debe la fama, se ha invertido el dinero de los contribuyentes guatemaltecos. Ese dinero ha desaparecido de la noche a la mañana y sigue desapareciendo. (The money of Guatemalan contributors has been invested in the enrichment of leaders in continuous trips abroad to buy communist weaponry, because he who owes it turns it [sic]. That money has disappeared from sight to morning, and is still disappearing.)*
- Refain 87 *Ya los líderes comunistas guatemaltecos están planeando nuevas impuestos contra el pueblo guatemalteco. Esas ganancias nunca se contemplan. Ya olvidaron las millones desaparecidas en los años anteriores. Recuerden que por eso a muchos faltó la economía al dinero, y tiene que salir del pueblo guatemalteco. (The Guatemalan communist leaders are already planning new taxes on the Guatemalan people. They're never satisfied. They've already squandered the millions that have disappeared from the national coffers. Remember that because of this new economic sources the money, and it has to come from the Guatemalan people. [Ungrammatical in the point of not making sense, believe this was intended :])*
- Refain 88 *La mentalidad de todos los pueblos no puede concebir la enorme facilidad que tienen los comunistas para mentir y para simular. En el soviet, parece que se está en otro mundo, así podría decirse que en otro planeta. Tal es la farsa y la mentira en que se vive, y se obliga a vivir a sus pueblos. Eso quiere para Guatemala los comunistas. (No mentality can conceive of the communists' enormous facility for lying and pretending. In the Soviet, its seems they are in another world, one could even say another planet. That's the farce and lying in which they live, and in which they make the people live. That's what the communists want for Guatemala.)*

- Refrain 69 *El sindicalismo comunista, que es el que funciona en Guatemala, es un sindicalismo cobarde de estímulos que ha llegado hasta destruir las fuentes del trabajo. [Communist trade unionism, which is what is practiced in Guatemala, is a trade unionism devoid of stimuli and which has even destroyed the sources of work.]*
- Refrain 70 *El sindicalismo comunalista, o sea el que han establecido los comunistas en nuestra patria, ha destruido al propio trabajador guatemalteco, privándole el estímulo de la emulación, empobreciéndolo al aislarlo con la amenaza penicilosa de todos los actividades. [Communal trade unionism, the one the communists have established in our country, has destroyed the Guatemalan worker, depriving him of the stimulus of competition, impoverishing the environment with the penicilous anemia of all activities. (sic)]*
- Refrain 71 *El comunismo ha conducido a Guatemala a la más grande de las miserias, y a la esclavitud social. [Communism has led Guatemala to the greatest of miseries and to social slavery.]*
- Refrain 72 *Es necesario terminar con el sistema comunista sindicalista, y como punto fundamental incrementar la producción que es el medio único de elevar el poder adquisitivo de compra para las masas. [It is necessary to end the communist trade union system, and as a fundamental point, to increase production as this is the only way of truly raising the purchasing power of the masses.]*
- Refrain 73 *Avanzan situaciones que se conservan en el futuro las causas que condujeron a Guatemala a la difícil situación que vive. Por esa determinación de nuestra patria a las comunistas [We will avoid conserving in the future the causes that led Guatemala into the difficult situation that it is experiencing now. That's why we will throw the communists out of our country.]*
- Refrain 74 *La "V" de la victoria fue el símbolo de los pueblos oprimidos por Hitler y por Mussolini. Fue el símbolo de la lucha de las democracias contra el totalitarismo. El "32" es el símbolo del pueblo de Guatemala, oprimido por los totalitarios del Kremlin. [The "V" for Victory was the symbol of the peoples oppressed by Hitler and Mussolini, the symbol of the democracies' struggle against totalitarianism. The "32" is the symbol of the Guatemalan people, oppressed by the totalitarians of the Kremlin.]*
- Refrain 75 *Guatemalteco, el cumplimiento de cualquier programa comunista es traidor a la patria. [Guatemalan, following any communist order is treason to the fatherland.]*
- Refrain 76 *En la Unión Soviética existen fábricas de autos como de locomotoras, aviones e incluso Son Árticas oficiales. Hay de quien qué se atreve a producir por su cuenta, ferrosos, aviones, locomotoras o autos? Es lo que prometen para Guatemala los líderes comunistas? [In the Soviet Union there are factories for autos as there are for locomotives, airplanes or even. They are official factories. Is there anyone who might on his own dare to produce screens, airplanes, locomotives or autos? Is this what the communist leaders intend for Guatemala?]*
- Refrain 77 *Lo que los comunistas pretenden en nuestra patria es que nuestros trabajadores se unan a los de la Unión Soviética o, lo que es lo mismo, que hagan entrega de nuestra paz estado de pie y mano a que lo dirija el país de la humanidad, el Comarado Molotov. [What the communists intend for our country is that our workers join those of the Soviet Union or, and this amounts to the same thing, that they deliver our country bound hand and foot to be run by that genius of humanity, Molotov.]*

- Nóstrais 78** Dicen los voceros del gobierno comunista de Arbenz que Guatemala es un país independiente de los Estados Unidos. En una verdad, como lo es que también lo son los países de América. Pero lo que no dicen esos voceros es que el gobierno moscovita de Jacobo Arbenz ha convertido a Guatemala en un país dependiente del Kremlin. [Spokesmen of Arbenz' communist government say that Guatemala is independent of the United States. That is true, as it is that the countries of America are also. But what those spokesmen don't say is that the Muscovite government of Jacobo Arbenz has converted Guatemala into a dependent country of the Kremlin.]
- Refrán 79** En la lucha contra el comunismo los guatemaltecos debemos tener en cuenta que los planes comunistas se desarrollan con gran reserva, y que el movimiento rojo opera subterráneamente en forma tan oculta a veces que solo los miembros de la jerarquía superior del partido los conocen. [In the struggle against communism, we Guatemaltecos must remember that communist plans are developed in the greatest secrecy, and that the red movement sometimes operates underground in a way so occult that only the top party leaders are aware of them.]
- Refrán 80** El comunismo es una absurda ideología intrínsecamente perversa que insiste en un brutal materialismo, que niega a Dios, niega a alma y su inmortalidad, desprecia la dignidad humana, destruye la familia, y transforma la conciencia individual en una conciencia colectiva. [Communism is an absurd and intrinsically perverse ideology that insists brutal materialism, denies God, denies the soul and its immortality, disdains human dignity, destroys the family, and transforms the individual conscience into a collective consciousness.]
- Refrán 81** Tenemos que destruir al comunismo, porque que erradicarlo de nuestra patria, destruir que destruya la alta filosofía moralista que no reconoce nada al moral. [We must destroy communism, we must eradicate it from our country, we must destroy that atheist Muscovite philosophy that acknowledges neither laws nor morals.]
- Refrán 82** Si el gobierno tiene perfectamente controlada la situación en el país, entonces ¿por qué habría que decretar la restricción de garantías? Si Jacobo Arbenz cuenta con el apoyo de las grandes mayoras, y con el consentimiento del ejército nacional, entonces para qué armar hasta los dientes a las tropas de choque del partido comunista? ¿A qué tanto preparativo bélico, que no es suficiente al consumo del ejército nacional, o es que a este ya se lo ha relegado a segundo nivel? [If the government has everything under control in the country, why was it necessary to decree the restriction of guarantees? If Jacobo Arbenz has the support of the masses, and of the national army, then why arm the communist party's shock troops to the teeth? Why so much war preparation that sidelines the national army, or is it that the army has already been relegated to the second level?]
- Refrán 83** Crearíamos una patria en la cual la única razón de estado sea la justicia humanizada por el cristianismo. Ni el asesinato, ni la ley fuga, ni el secuestro ni el robo, ni la deportación serán mas razones de estado. [We will create a country in which the only reason of state will be justice humanized by Christianity. Neither murder, nor the law of flight, nor unjust imprisonment, nor deportation will be reasons of state.]
- Refrán 84** Guatemala ha sido hasta hoy un país profanado por la mentira. Nosotros confrontaremos a la patria con la verdad que hace libre a los hombres. [Up to today Guatemala has been a country desecrated by the lie. We will confront the fatherland with the truth that makes man free.]
- Refrán 85** Ya no es cuestión de meses ni de semanas. El reloj de la liberación de Guatemala marcó la hora. Llegó el fin de la más cruel de las tiranías que ha usurpado el poder público de Guatemala. [It is no longer a matter of months or weeks. The clock of the liberation of Guatemala has struck the hour. The clock of tyranny that has usurped public power in Guatemala has come to an end.]

- Refrain 85. *Mujer guatemalteca, ya no cortas sangre en las arterias de la patria. El comunismo le succiona. ¡Basta! ¡Basta! si necesitas sangre en holocausto de tu salvación. [Guatemalan woman, there is no more blood in the fatherland's arteries. The communists have suctioned it all out. Give yours if necessary (in the holocaust?) of your salvation.]*
- Refrain 87. *Madre guatemalteca, no deshonres el sagrado destino que Dios le dió, guiando a sus hijos por los senderos [páthos] senderos del ateísmo. [Guatemalan mother, don't dishonor the sacred destiny given you by God, guiding your children through the (perilous) paths of atheism.]*
- Refrain 88. *Adelante pueblo de Guatemala, la libertad toca la puerta y hoy por mañana al al nombre de Dios. [Forward, people of Guatemala, freedom is knocking on your door, and she must be received in the name of God.]*
- Refrain 89. *El enemigo de la patria, el sí comunismo que tantos males ha ocasionado a Guatemala, ha recurrido ya a las más espantosas medidas dictatoriales: son las medidas propias de los refulsaos fascistas que se disimulan, que se ven ocultas por días. [The fatherland's enemy, the vile communism that has caused so much harm to Guatemala, has resorted to the most vicious dictatorial measures. They are the measures of nefarious tyrannies that are collapsing, that see their days as being numbered.]*
- Refrain 90. *Después de muchos sufrimientos y de inmundicias, posiblemente ocasionados por los traidores a la patria, por esos traidores que así han desgobernado, se acerca el día de la liberación nacional. Guatemala será prisionera de los golpes del criminal comunismo. [After so much suffering brought on by the traitors to the fatherland who have so misgoverned us, the day of liberation nears. Guatemala will be torn from the claws of criminal communism.]*
- Refrain 91. *Ya están contados los días de sufrimiento para el val pueblo guatemalteco, hoy se glorio de la liberación, el enemigo está ya en los últimos estertores. [The days of suffering for the whole people of Guatemala are numbered, the enemy is on his last gasp.]*
- Refrain 92. *El pueblo guatemalteco, tal a sus tradiciones, en la resistencia siempre erguido ante la gran horda de los dictadores que ha dominado a nuestra querida patria, y de nuevo erguido, soportará los crueles días de los tiranos que han recurrido a las más sangrientas ordenanzas en su afán de mantenerse en el poder. [In keeping with its traditions, the people of Guatemala have stood tall in the face of the dictatorships that have dominated our beloved fatherland, and again standing tall, they will survive the numbered days of the traitors who have resorted to the bloodiest authoritarianism in their effort to stay in power.]*
- Refrain 93. *Campeones guatemaltecos, nuestros verdaderos, no dejemos jamás caer, no vamos pere cediendo a la marea del justos guatemaltecos. No vivas de instrumento a esos salvajes malos hijos de Guatemala. [Guatemalan peasants, your ancestors, the communist so-called leaders, arm you to send you to the massacre of the Guatemalan people. Do not be an instruments of those satirical bad sons of Guatemala.]*
- Refrain 94. *Trabajadores guatemaltecos, el gobierno traidor de Arbenz no está defendiendo ninguna integridad nacional, porque ese gobierno entrega a Guatemala al comunismo. Nosotros, nuestro movimiento va a reestablecer la economía nacional. [Guatemalan workers, the traitorous Arbenz government is not defending national integrity, because that same government turned Guatemala over to communism. We, our movement, will reestablish our national sovereignty.]*

- Refrein 95. Catepistrica guatemaltecos: empunha un arma soviética significa colaborar con los traidores para asentar la tiranía fasci al propio corazón de nuestra patria. Los señores árbenz [Guatemaltecos, to take up a Soviet weapon is to cooperate with the traitors in delivering the tyrannous state to the heart of our beloved Guatemala.]
- Refrein 96. Incalculables han sido los sufrimientos. Hemos aguantado por muchos años, que han sido atorment, a la más negra tiranía que haya dominado a nuestra patria. Un esfuerzo eterno para terminar completamente con ella. Así lo reclama la patria. [The sufferings have been countless. For many years, an eternity, we have put up with the darkest tyranny to ever dominate our fatherland. One final effort to completely end it. So demands the fatherland.]
- Refrein 97. Todo buen hijo de Guatemala tiene una misión que cumplir en esta gloriosa gesta libertadora. Madres, esposas, hijos jóvenes, a formar día en el movimiento de liberación de Guatemala. Vuestro esfuerzo Dios os premie, y la patria os lo agradezca. [Every good child of Guatemala has a mission to fulfill in this glorious liberation effort. Mothers, wives, daughters, youths, all join yours in the Guatemalan liberation movement. Your effort will be rewarded by God, and the fatherland will thank you.]
- Refrein 98. Guatemaltecos, Guatemala reclama la recuperación de todos sus hijos en la más trascendental lucha que registra nuestra historia. Esas son el traidor de Jacobo Arbenz y sus secuaces en apagar la entrega de Guatemala a la flor de América. Esas son el movimiento libertador que Jefe Carlos Castillo Armas es terminar de una vez por todos con los traidores e la patria. [Guatemaltecos, Guatemala calls out for the cooperation of all her children in the most transcendental struggle of our glorious history. To be with Jacobo Arbenz and his gang is to support the delivery of Guatemala to soviet Russia. To be with the liberating movement led by Carlos Castillo Armas is to put an end, once and for all, to the traitors of the fatherland.]
- Refrein 99. Guatemaltecos, por vuestros héroes aparez en las páginas de nuestra gloriosa historia, en la lista de los patriotas. No en la de los traidores. Apoyad entonces el movimiento de la liberación, y combatid la tiranía árbenz. Enemigos que es la que defiende al régimen moscovita de Arbenz. [Guatemaltecos, may your names appear in the pages of our glorious history on the list of patriots, not the list of traitors. Support, then, the liberation movement, and fight the deliverance issues which are the ones defended by Arbenz' Moscowite regime.]
- Refrein 100. Los comunistas nutren el odio de clases a fin de que este odio conduzca en la strada total como único camino para lograr el poder absoluto de Guatemala. [The communists stimulate class hatred so that that hatred might lead to a complete debacle in the only way for them to seize total power in Guatemala.]
- Refrein 101. El "32" es para Jacobo Arbenz, para su gobierno moscovita y para los comunistas, como lo es la cruz para el diablo. Guatemaltecos, combad con el símbolo del "32." [The "32" is to Jacobo Arbenz, his puppet government and the communists, as the cross is to the devil. Guatemaltecos, combat with the "32" symbol.]
- Refrein 102. Medios de seguridad social instalados científicamente e inspirado en alzar el bienestar general, se abandonan la patria y se abandonan en que sean más de explotación. Pero como los pejudica los planes moscovitas, los comunistas guatemaltecos han instalado que la seguridad social funciona en Guatemala. [The misery and abandonment in which thousands of citizens live are best ameliorated by social security, scientifically applied and inspired by the quest for general well-being. But since that works against the Moscowite plans, the Guatemalan communists have not allowed social security to work in Guatemala.]

- Refrain 103. Con la suspensión de las garantías queda anulado el artículo 27 que establece que todos los servicios deben ser remunerados. Como en el futuro ya no lo serán, los guatemaltecos no deben pagar en consecuencia sus impuestos pues no tendrán de qué vivir. [The suspension of guarantees rendered Article 27, which establishes that all services should be subject to compensation, ineoperative. Since in the future there will be no compensation for services, Guatemalans should not pay their taxes because otherwise they will have nothing to live on.]
- Refrain 104. La cesación de el pago de los impuestos trae como consecuencia la cesación en el pago de las garantías y servicios. Los guatemaltecos no están obligados a pagar ningún tributo porque se le acabaron la suspensión de garantías. [Stopping payment of taxes brings as a consequence the stopping of payments for services. Guatemalans are not obligat to pay any tribute as a result of the suspension of guarantees.]
- Refrain 105. Los comunistas obligan a Arbenz a suspender las garantías individuales, con el objeto de que el mundo ignore el próximo acontecimiento, la sustitución de Arbenz, pues ya sólo demandó a los moscovitas. [The communists forced Arbenz to suspend individual guarantees so that the world will ignore the next event, the replacement of Arbenz, because he already served the Moscovites too much.]
- Refrain 106. Absence física y moral, torturas físicas y morales, persecuciones y temores, destrucción, salvajismo, arbitrariedades y crímenes, esa es la situación soviética. A esa situación intentan llevar a nuestra patria los líderes moscovitas. [Physical and moral miseries, intimate and collective tortures, persecutions and hunger, violence, savagery, arbitrariness and crimes, that is the Soviet situation. That's the situation to which the Muscovite leaders try to take our fatherland.]

The Songs

Two songs were featured on the broadcasts, and the words to them were taught, verse by verse, on the musical program *Miscelánea Musical del Añil*. Both are played by the Los Trinquenteros group. *La Profecía* was first heard on 6 May (Cassette #8), and *Lolo Trinquenteros* on 22 May (Cassette #105). The latter came to be referred to as the song of the Army of Liberation. The lyrics of the two songs follow. The reviewer apologizes for the translations: the words and verses are uniquely rural Guatemalan and do not lend themselves to easy understanding in translation.

"La Presidencia"

Ojo por ojo, diente por diente
Jacobo Arbenz, vas a pagar.
Cuando te boten de presidencia
Y el mero diablo te va a llevar

Como cobardes moriste a tierno,
También a tierno dables morir
Van a matarte, tal como un perro.
Y al mero día ya va venir

Paciencia, hijo, larga es la noche
El comunismo te hace sufrir
Pero recuerda que a todo coche
Su día sabado le ha de llegar

No olvide el pueblo de Guatemala
Que has mandado a la prisión
Y es costumbre darle por pena,
Honor que sigue la prisión

Porque Dios tarda, pero no olvida.
Como cobardes por la media
Si entre asesinos pasas la vida,
Vas para muerta en un día

Paciencia, hijo, larga es la noche
El comunismo te hace sufrir
Pero recuerda que a todo coche
Su día sabado le ha de llegar

Paciencia, hijo, tiene paciencia
Dentro tranquilo con la mujer
Aunque en el fondo de tu conciencia
Te está pidiendo un día a venir

Con estos versos ya te anunciaremos
Que la justicia pronto se hará
Que a los asesinos castigaremos
Y Guatemala libre será

Ojo por ojo, diente por diente
Jacobo Arbenz, vas a pagar.
Cuando te boten de presidencia
Y al mero día ya va venir

An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth,
Jacobo Arbenz, you are going to pay
When they throw you out as president,
And the devil takes you away

Like a coward, you killed by lion,
And by lion you will die
They're going to kill you, just like a dog,
And the mero day that will come

Paciencia, hijo, long is the night
and communism makes you dream,
but remember that for every coach,
its day (saturday) will arrive

The people of Guatemala will not forget,
For you've imprisoned its population,
And it will make you pay, bullet for bullet,
Remember the [prisoners] entreat

Because God may delay, but he does not forget
How you rose by treason
If you live among assassins,
As a sempre you are a victim

Paciencia, hijo, you carry the night,
Communism makes you dream
But remember that for every coach,
its Saturday is sure to come

Paciencia, hijo, have patience
Sleep tranquilly with your wife
Although in the depth of your conscience,
Once Jesus is accusing you

With these verses we will let you know
That justice will soon be done
I and we will punish all tyrants,
And Guatemala will be free

An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth,
Jacobo Arbenz, you are going to pay
When they throw you out of the presidency,
And elect you to execution

"Los Triqueteros"

Canta un solo corazón,
Guatemala por sí misma
Que tiene su misión,
Luchar contra el comunismo.

Ya un negro en Ayndra,
Solera, ruinas y palmeras,
Porque hoy en tierra chapín,
Entramos los Triqueteros.

Abajo al crimen y al robo,
Vamos a echar de la calle,
Al comunista Jacobo
Y a su mafiosa pandilla.

Adentro que están torturando
Y a machar varón en patilla,
Adelante que ahora va cuando
Los derrota en la batalla.

El pueblo de Guatemala
Sufre con resignación,
Porque sabe que muy pronto
Tendrá su liberación.

Es hora para que salga,
Saliendo a los lindes rojos,
Vamos para Guatemala,
A ver a nuestros patrones.

Abre puertas y ventanas,
Sonrisa los malos, malos,
Echar rapaces y iseras,
Que ahuyan los Triqueteros.

Quien Oculito, Yo machete,
Adentro que están torturando,
Lloras cuando lloras cuando,
Los Tiran los del Triquetito.

One soul heart sings out,
Guatemala for itself,
Which has its mission
To fight communism.

A new sun now shines its light
On jungles, hills and fields
Because today in the land of Chapin
We, Los Triqueteros, are entering.

Down with crime and thievery,
We're going to throw from the chair
The communist Jacobo,
And his damned gang.

Inside where they are [torturing]
And pulling varón on the patilla
Forward, because now is when
We will hit them on the head.

The people of Guatemala
Suffer with resignation,
Because they know that very soon,
They will have their liberation.

The tiger that puts red ink,
Hiding on the red borders,
We're going to Guatemala,
To see our [patrons].

Open doors and open windows,
We are the [males, males],
[Echar rapaces y iseras],
Los Triqueteros are coming.

[Quien Oculito, Yo machete]
Inside where they are [torturing],
Cry when, Cry when,
Those of the Triquetito [tiran].

Abre puertas y ventanas,
Serás los meros, meros.
Echar repiques y danzas,
Que vienen los Triqueteros.

Guatemala ya sufisteis
Crimes, caudillos y robos,
Para te quede una gloria,
De haberse volado a Jacobo.

Quien Quilala: Yo machete,
Adentro que están torciendo
Lloras cuando, lloras cuando,
Los fencan los del Triquetero.

Abre puertas y ventanas,
Serás los meros, meros.
Echar repiques y danzas,
Que vienen los Triqueteros.

Carteros, Pablo Guevara,
Sus hijos Los Triqueteros,
Que luchas con arma y vida,
Contra el comunismo rojo.

Open doors and open windows,
We are the (meros, meros).
[Echar repiques y danzas.]
Los Triqueteros are coming.

Guatemala, you have suffered
Crimes, caudillos and robbery,
But you still keep one glory,
Of having blown out Jacobo.

[Quien Quilala: Yo machete]
Inside where they are [torciendo]
Cry when, cry when,
Those of the Triquetero [vienen].

Open doors and windows,
We are the (meros, meros).
[Echar repiques y danzas.]
Los Triqueteros are coming.

They have hung, behind enemy,
Your sons, Los Triqueteros.
Who fight with heart and soul,
Against the [rojo] communism.

ROSTERS OF CASSETTES

Two rosters of Cassettes follow.

The **ROSTER OF BROADCAST CASSETTES** lists all those cassettes for which a broadcast date is available, or for which an approximate date can reasonably be established. They are listed in chronological order.

The **ROSTER OF SOURCE CASSETTES** lists those cassettes which appear to be source cassettes, cassettes which were drawn from in put together some of the broadcasts. They do not appear to be recordings of actual broadcasts.

On both rosters, the columns represent the following:

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| Column I: | The page, in the appropriate section, on which the cassette is found. |
| Column II: | The number of the box in which the cassette is stored. |
| Column III: | The number of the cassette. |
| Column IV: | The first program segment appearing on the cassette. |
| Column V: | The second program segment appearing on the cassette. |
| Column VI: | An asterisk in this column indicates that the date assigned to the cassette is an approximation based on content. |
| Column VII: | Date of broadcast. |
| Column VIII: | Time of broadcast. |
| Column IX: | Notes made by the reviewer. |

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CASSETTE ROSTERS

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The **ROSTER OF SOURCE CASSETTES** lists those cassettes which appear to be source cassettes, cassettes which were drawn from to put together some of the broadcasts. They do not appear to be recordings of actual broadcasts.

On both rosters, the columns represent the following:

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| Column I: | The page, in the Appendix section, on which the cassette is found. |
| Column II: | The number of the box in which the cassette is stored. |
| Column III: | The number of the cassette. |
| Column IV: | The first program segment appearing on the cassette. |
| Column V: | The second program segment appearing on the cassette. |
| Column VI: | An asterisk in this column indicates that the date assigned to the cassette is an approximation based on content. |
| Column VII: | Date of broadcast. |
| Column VIII: | Time of broadcast. |
| Column IX: | Notes made by the reviewer. |

ROSTER OF BROADCAST CASSETTES

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Page	Box	Cass.	Program 1	Program 2	Days	Time		Notes
1	195	220						
2	194	195	RESCUE		1950			See Serial No. 1-1950
3	194	196	RESCUE		1950			The Rescue of the Ship, Serial No. 1950-1951
4	194	198			1950			Serial No. 1950-1951
5	194	200	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
6	194	201	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
7	194	202	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
8	194	203	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
9	194	204	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
10	194	205	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
11	194	206	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
12	194	207	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
13	194	208	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
14	194	209	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
15	194	210	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
16	194	211	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
17	194	212	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
18	194	213	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
19	194	214	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
20	194	215	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
21	194	216	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
22	194	217	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
23	194	218	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
24	194	219	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
25	194	220	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
26	194	221	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
27	194	222	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
28	194	223	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
29	194	224	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
30	194	225	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
31	194	226	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
32	194	227	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
33	194	228	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
34	194	229	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
35	194	230	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
36	194	231	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
37	194	232	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
38	194	233	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
39	194	234	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
40	194	235	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
41	194	236	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
42	194	237	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
43	194	238	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
44	194	239	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
45	194	240	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
46	194	241	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
47	194	242	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
48	194	243	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
49	194	244	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
50	194	245	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
51	194	246	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
52	194	247	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
53	194	248	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
54	194	249	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
55	194	250	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
56	194	251	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
57	194	252	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
58	194	253	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
59	194	254	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
60	194	255	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
61	194	256	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
62	194	257	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
63	194	258	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
64	194	259	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
65	194	260	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
66	194	261	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
67	194	262	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
68	194	263	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
69	194	264	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
70	194	265	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
71	194	266	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
72	194	267	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
73	194	268	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
74	194	269	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
75	194	270	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
76	194	271	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
77	194	272	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
78	194	273	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
79	194	274	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
80	194	275	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
81	194	276	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
82	194	277	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
83	194	278	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
84	194	279	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
85	194	280	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
86	194	281	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
87	194	282	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
88	194	283	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
89	194	284	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
90	194	285	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
91	194	286	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
92	194	287	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
93	194	288	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
94	194	289	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
95	194	290	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
96	194	291	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
97	194	292	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
98	194	293	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
99	194	294	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		
100	194	295	RESCUE	RESCUE	1950	1950		

ROSTER OF BROADCAST CASSETTES

[illegible]

ROSTER OF BROADCAST CASSETTES

I	S	R	M	V	W	VE	A
Page	No.	Ch.	Program	Program	Date	Time	Notes
126	186	141	PROGRAMO		21 May	21:00	175-20000
127	186	141	NOTICIA		21 May	21:00	175-20000
128	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
129	186	141	NOTICIAS	MEXICANA	21 May	21:00	175-20000
130	186	141	NOTICIAS	DE MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
131	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
132	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
133	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
134	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
135	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
136	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
137	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
138	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
139	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
140	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
141	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
142	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
143	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
144	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
145	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
146	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
147	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
148	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
149	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
150	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
151	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
152	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
153	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
154	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
155	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
156	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
157	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
158	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
159	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
160	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
161	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
162	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
163	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
164	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
165	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
166	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
167	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
168	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
169	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
170	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
171	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
172	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
173	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
174	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
175	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
176	186	141	NOTICIAS	A MEXICO	21 May	21:00	175-20000
177							

ROSTER OF BROADCAST CASSETTES

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524
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ROSTER OF SOURCE CASSETTES

Page	Box	Case	Project 1	Project 2	Notes
1	180	1A MONTECARLO			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
2	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
3	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
4	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
5	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
6	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
7	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
8	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
9	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
10	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
11	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
12	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
13	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
14	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
15	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
16	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
17	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
18	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
19	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
20	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
21	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
22	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
23	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
24	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
25	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
26	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
27	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
28	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
29	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
30	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
31	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
32	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
33	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
34	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
35	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
36	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
37	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
38	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
39	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
40	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
41	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
42	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
43	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
44	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
45	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
46	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
47	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
48	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
49	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
50	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
51	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
52	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
53	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
54	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
55	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
56	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
57	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
58	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
59	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
60	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
61	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
62	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
63	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
64	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
65	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
66	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
67	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
68	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
69	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
70	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
71	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
72	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
73	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
74	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
75	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
76	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
77	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
78	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
79	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
80	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
81	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
82	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
83	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
84	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
85	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
86	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
87	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
88	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
89	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
90	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
91	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
92	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
93	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
94	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
95	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
96	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
97	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
98	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
99	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15
100	181	1B			APPROXIMATELY 10-15

BROADCAST CASSETTES

SYNOPSIS

OF

BROADCAST CASSETTES

1 May

CASSETTE #288

- 006 National Anthem.
- 033 Guatemala, our country - Brother Guatemaltecos. We have begun the work of this clandestine radio.
- 082 [Refrain 2.] (No freq.) Radio Liberation, broadcasting from a secret place with the Republic will on the air twice a day. From 7:00 AM to 8:00 AM and from 2100 to 2250 during the first weeks. Later, and when technical circumstances permit, we will increase our broadcast hours. Morning broadcasts will be as follows. After coming up on the air, we will offer a segment of popular music with jokes about the personalities of our sad political situation. Then there will be two serious segments exposing the Arbenz government, and finally a segment featuring exquisite music. The night broadcast will begin every day at 2100 and will carry the following programs: *Baila el son que lo fascina*, modern music and good humor with satirical undertones, the two programs *Responde as Catedral* and *Que Sonos y Adonde Venos*, attacking the government; the closing will feature marimba music. [National anthem again.]
- 138 [Refrain 2.] (No freq.)
- 166 *Ademós Apomoso en El Centro y Nueva Sabiduría*. [Music.] Gives some background on the opposition movement for which the radio speaks, listing it is composed primarily of sales, university youth, honorable military officers, and fugitives from persecution. They are professionals, students, farmers, intellectuals, peasants and workers. The people of Guatemala want to know more about this opposition, who they are and what they propose to bring. They deserve answers, and we are going to provide those answers. [Covers on to explain about the opposition, its goals, the evils of communism and the Arbenz regime, and the claims they have brought to Guatemala.] [Music. Ends at Counter 371.]
- 371 No Sign Off. Music ends at 371.
-

1 May

CASSETTE #152

- 005 No Sign On. Refrain 2. [No frequency given]
- 015 For Joe Simóns & Co. Released God, Fatherland, Liberty, the symbols adopted by Guatemalan University Youth in Exile. We will speak of these symbols in the inaugural program of our transmissions. [Enters into an extended discussion of the meaning of these symbols. Goes on to Counter 400.] [Music.]
- 408 Music fades out. No Sign Off
-

1 May

CASSETTE #166

005 No Sign On Return 2 [5360 and 3530 kcs. give both frequencies.]

017 [Aythiam.] The song of the Fadhawid fills the airspace as the special broadcast through which Radio Liberation, on 6360 and 3530 kcs, has begun its broadcast activities, comes to an end. As we end our work for the day, we thank you for your attention. We will repeat the broadcast that you have just heard, that lasted for one hour, throughout the day so people can become accustomed to us. Our regular programming will begin tomorrow from 7:00 AM to 8:00 AM, on 6360 kcs, and from 9:00 PM to 10:00 PM, on 3530 kcs. Radio Libération leaves the airwaves for one hour. [Music.]

075 Music ends No Sign Off

2 May 1960

CASSETTE 406

- 003 Sign On I
- 036 Announces the schedule for this program:
- 1- Musical Musical del Aire (15 minutes)
 - 2- Nuestra Campana Radical (15 minutes)
 - 3- Comentarios al Destino (15 minutes)
 - 4- Musical Program (15 minutes)
- 044 Musical Musical del Aire [?] Pasa Pasa, Que Rico el Merde, Perico
- 205 Nuestra Campana Radical [?] Why we must fight against communism...importance of these broadcasts...censorship by the government...we're for democracy...we now conclude the first of this new series (note: this suggests this is the first broadcast to include the Nuestra Campana Radical segment) (Music)
- 360 Music stops. Off the air.
-

2 May 0730

CASSETTE #05

004 Sign On |

011 El Quetzontli al Despertar (1) Attacks agrarian policies of his government. ... thousands of property ... confiscations ... Moscow driven ... calling peasants to civil war, and human plans ... Alfonso Martinez Estrada named ... cites abuses on Duce doctrine here in Esquipulas, also La Industria, La Esperanza. ... Fortaly's recent return from USSR, prepared to start civil war on behalf of Soviet interests. ... communists it on the march ... but we will turn Quetzontli back into a nation of God which will return to its tradition and civilization. (Refrain 2)

172 Marxismo Musical Mario Lanza opera selections

354 Sign Off

2 May 2100

CASSETTE #24

005 Sign On I Refrain 2

042 Bello at Caperon Que in Tiquen (*) Bethical sponsorship of Rogelio Cruz Wer's G.C. Beauty Salon, located at 6th Avenue South and 14th Street, Tambores. "Yo Quiero Verla Esta Noche," jarchas "La Bomba," "Carlota." The magnificent personnel of Don Lelo (Cruz Wer), trained behind the iron Cymah... will apply specialized massages (both manual and electric) - permanents, etc... they will even change your way of walking. (Refrain 2)

204 Bozpenda An Cadenes (*) Quotes from a manifesto published in issue no. 11 of *El Combate* published in El Salvador: "We must all join together against international capitalism in Guatemala - forget past differences and join in the common cause... our symbols are God, Country and Liberty, and our aspirations are Truth, Justice and Work... join the front the organized opposition... we speak to you from exile... from countries that have true constitutive liberty... our mission is to oppose the crimes of the current government and combat it actively... we regret Arbenz's changes of a planned foreign mission... these are false, designed to disrupt the Caracas Conference (OAS Interamerican Conference)... We quote the words of Carlos Castillo Armas, chief of the organized opposition, that there is indeed a conspiracy - a conspiracy of Chimerity and civilization against communism and barbarity. The hour of liberty is near!"

308 Sign Off

1 May 2120

CASSETTE #15

- 002 No Sign On Refrain 2
- 016 Que Soyera y Adonde Voyan. Attack on the evils of communism. Ten points on why we can never be communists, our "ideological dialogue" ... communism denies existence of God, puts party before fatherland ... does not recognize liberty ... destroys, tort, slays and aspirations of the individual ... rejects moral values ... destroys the home ... is based on absurdities, imposes a purported equality which even nature denies, forces equality by dragging the front-runners back ... its only achievement is to have enslaved millions of workers and crushed thousands of concentration camps ... exploits every and all the other lower passions against the successful ... considers work to be an instrument of slavery. Personal attack on the "traitorous deliverance [entreguismo] of Jacinto Arbenz and company."
- 100 Music (including Enao Martin, "When the Moon Hits your Eye Like a Big Rizza Pie")
- 180 Alma Chapuis Mexican program
- 360 Sign Off
-

3 May 1968

CASSETTE #23

005 Sign On L. Refrain 2

043 Arrestados Muestran del Amor ("I Combat, 'Casi, Casi,' Sembraron, 'Cagado Suave'"
[Refrain 2.]

192 Negative Campaign Begins ("How the Argentine government spends its money... high life of its officials, including Cardenas, houses, fun, jewelry... personal overseas accounts of its officials... heavy costs of the propaganda apparatus... internal espionage services... support of USSR objectives around the world (250,000 quantities per month in propaganda programs within the USSR, mandatory annual contribution to Soviet fund for building atomic bombs). [Refrain 2.]

570 Off the air. No Sign Off.

3 May 0730

CASSETTE #02

005 No Sign On. Refrain 2

016 Consuegro al Camacho [?] The long night of violence and warports is almost over...daybreak is coming...the pain has lasted for years, but is nearly over...return to the meaning of the flag and cross...only current symbols are the hammer and sickle...bursts of reverberates have converted the altar of the nation into a stable of international forests...Guatemalan diplomats have no right to speak in the name of the Guatemalan people...Mexican Communist influence in Guatemala...the time is coming. [Refrain 2]

125 [Music.] [Refrain 2]

180 Rememore Musical Paul Taylor, "Song of Gideon," Jeremy Miller, "Autumn Leaves," "Au Revoir Again." [Refrain 2]

965 Sign On. [Refrain 2]

9 May 2000

CASSETTE #21

- 009 Sign On I Rejoin 2
- 042 *Radio al Compas que le Pague* [?] Salivical sponsorship of Humberto Gerslaxer Juarez leather shop Cartelóns 2500 solubles, located at 8th avenue south between 10th and 11th. Today's songs are the guatemalteco 'Ni Picha ni Cacha, ni Desea Salsol' the Honduran 'Tengo Una Jirva' and the Peruvian vals 'Nube Gris.' [Rejoin 2]
- 222 *Rampante las Carreteras* [?] 'The Betrayal of the Army and the Moral (Recent Pastors) Letter' Quotes extensively from Archbishop Mariano Rossell y Arellano's pastoral letter ordering the church to combat communism, denounces total subjugation of Guatemala to USSR - (legal unconstitutional and immoral.
- 302 End of music (no sign Off)
-

3 May 2135

CASSETTE #05

005 No Sign On. Retain 2

014 Que Sonoy y Asende Justicia The economic collapse of "Revolucion" will signify misery for the Guatemalan people... details how government is running the economy... government is not paying employees, including teachers, throughout the country... so teachers strike and government steals from another sector to pay their wages, process begins again... inflation has more than overcome all salary increases... top officials paid on time, others not... all this leading to total bankruptcy of government and misery of the people

134 [Music.] [Retain 2.]

185 Alma Chacha marimba music. "Yax de Pava," "El Huitagüero" and "El Guio Notal"

310 Sign off

4 May 1970

CASSETTE #19

- 005 Sign On 1 Refrain 2
- 050 Musical program Musical del Aire [?] Musical program featuring "Los Chocumbes de España" Juan Logio & "Tres Veces Guapo" "La Bata de Luis Alonso" and "La Leyenda del Seso" [Refrain 2.]
- 230 Nuestra Campesina Rebelde [?] Assault on Alfonso Martínez Escobar, director of the National Agrarian Department, Juan Manuel Feryus, SecGen of Communist Party (sic) and Victor Manuel Cuhernat, SecGen of CGTQ, and general attack on acts of oppression and cruelty of government - wave of terror... several instances of killings and torture (flee) [Music.]
- 516 Music ends No Sign Off
-

4 May 6730

CASSETTE #18

005 No Sign On. (Refrain 2)

014 Consensus of Delinoids. [?] Some generals are now happy because whereas before no Soviet aircraft had the range to bomb Los Angeles and return safely home, now planes can take off from the USSR, drop nuclear bombs on Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle or other US cities, then continue safely to safety in Guatemala. These generals are delighted that Guatemala now helps Uncle Sam and loves Uncle Joe. ... Guatemalan communists are few but control government and administrative bureaucracy. ... more violent than communists in Moscow. ... practically own Guatemala, but not for long. ... criticism of Guatemalan diplomats and their voting patterns in international bodies. ... Guatemalan agrarian laws against landowners more severe than anything Moscow would dare impose. ... articles of importation of Mexican beer leader Vicente Lombardo Toledano. citing letter from him to Mao Tse-tung. ... account of how communists had found it necessary to machine gun women who opposed them. ... account of how Arbenz and others ordered the assassination and butchery of Arbenz Forces chief Col. Francisco Javier Arana, who opposed them. ... red control of Guatemala is now virtually complete. ... defense of United Fruit Co which continues to operate in Guatemala but is gradually being forced out. ... employees of United Fruit and Pan American have been manipulated by communists to act against their own self-interests by striking for outrageous wages and benefits. ... employee performance of Foreign Minister Gutierrez Trejo at recently concluded Caracas conference [N Interamerican Conference]. ... the great day of liberation is coming. (Refrain 2)

210 Bernardo Malinal musical program featuring voice selections from "Carmen." (Refrain 2)

375 Sign Off.

4 May 2000

CASSETTE # 11

010 Sign On 1. Ruben 2.

045 Sale al Consejo que le Tienen. [?] Musical program: satirically sponsored by 'don Jaime Rosenberg, proprietor of the G.C. Soap Factory (note: although the announcer clearly says G.C., a written transcript says G.J.). The latter is probably correct since Rosenberg was chief of the Guardia Judicial, located at 8th-avenue south and 54th street, and producer of the wonderful soap "Lodo en manguitas." [Ruben 2.]

210 Compendio las Cuchetas. Attack on Arbenz and claim that Guatemala can be a beachhead for Soviet communism. . . . Guatemala has a religion and a tradition which cannot be taken away. . . . Guatemalan people are ready for the end of the regime of Arbenz and the other "communist pigs". "The moment of liberation from the communist yoke is very near."

300 Sign Off

4 May 2130

CASSETTE #16

000 No Sign On. Retrain 2

005 Que Sencas y Adonde Vástan. Proving the case that Arbenz, his party and his government are communist. ... They are, but the people of Guatemala are not. Their days are numbered. The great day is arriving... "the great day of liberation is not far away." [Retrain 2]

217 Alma Chelida. 15-minute musical program featuring marimba group "Alma de Guatemala" performing "Ay Mi Vida" and "Concepción."

402 Sign Off

3 May 0700

CASSETTE #11

- 003 Sign On 1 0300 hrs. [Morning 0300 hrs. evening 0330 hrs.] [Refrain 2]
- 042 Los hombres de la revolución temen una revolución
[The men of the revolution fear a revolution.]
- 048 Marcosina Muestral del Aire [?] Los Tres Diamantes, "Linda Linda," Paté Feige, "I Went to your
Wedding," Los Tres Diamantes, "Des Cruces" [Refrain 2.]
- 222 Nuestra Canción (Radio) [?] The "newspapermen" are going about saying that those who oppose
the Arbenz government are sponsoring an "intervention," and that the people of Guatemala should
repudiate any "intervention." Let's look at the facts. The first real intervention of this sort
occurred in 1944 when one - Roldos turned this country over to the USSR. Arbenz has
continued this policy. We are living under that intervention to this day. If there is another
intervention, it will be to liberate us and it will come from a group of countries from this
hemisphere, or perhaps only from one. And that is what Arbenz fears. And he should be aware
that no country or group that today openly proclaims its support to him will engage in a war of
ideals to defend him. We anti-Communists are pained by the current intervention and by the
prospects of still another, and we blame both on the puppet Arbenz. Complete Arbenz in Latin
XVI [Music.]
- 384 More ends. No Sign Off

5 May 0730

CASSETTE #6

004 No Sign-On, Refrain 2, 0300 hrs

014 Comentarios al Oligarcado [?] Corruption in the government, we are all ashamed with what we read in the newspapers of the scandals in the government and disgusting machinations of the political parties... political parties that maintain Arbenz in power, just groups of ambitious, opportunistic, amoral and vicious individuals... they think only of enriching themselves at the cost of the people, and of orgies with women of the worst kind... Just recently scandalous fights surfaced within the National Party, caused by the secretary of the Presidency, Jaime Cruz Razzoto... there have been continuing rumors of embezzlement of 150,000 quetzales by Diaz and Jaime Barrios Acuña... goes on to cite other scandals and rumors... Diaz claimed that the fights in the PN were caused by individuals with premature presidential ambitions, which only proves that ambition is what drives that party... we have seen internal fights despite the Frente Popular Liberador, then the Partido Acción Revolucionaria, then the Party of the Guatemalan Revolution, and now we see divisions surfacing within the Guatemalan Labor Party, that is the Communist Party... the people are sick of all this treachery, scandal, lying and embezzlement... through our voice the people are saying Enough!... now it's our turn to clean up this country and rid it of Arbenzism... (Refrain 2.) Music. (Refrain 2.)

175 Bertrando Muñoz, Juan Pineda, "Teresa Samartín," "Valencia," "América" (Refrain 2.)

265 Sign off

5 May 2100

CASSETTE #5

- 004 Anthem, Refrain 1. 3590 kcs. Refrain 2
- 042 Bole al Cosmos Que le Populen ["Sponsored by the National League of Tuberculars, and its great lottery on the forthcoming fifth of May. Arbenz, Fortuny, Quarta Borges, Castillo Flores, etc., 50 valuable prizes, tickets for only one quetzal. Tickets with comfortable pills, exquisite fortune chamber, artistic security fences, can be found. . . . Bolero, "Ya Se Que Tiene Nosta," "La Profeta," "Ya Vuelvo Llagando a Penasco," poem "Te Quiero Mas que Nunca." (Refrain 2).]
- 213 Revolucion por Cadenas The Arbenz government is clearly communal...turning country over to the Kremlin's socialism...the great masses of peasants know this is a farce...10 years of national energy have been wasted...all peasants and workers know this now...despite independent preachers...we stop just talking about communism...let's close ranks and teach those who are on the margins of the struggle...recruit those who have succumbed to defeatism...join the struggle now...words do longer work, only deeds work...words will bring democracy, peace and freedom from fear. Radio Liberation will announce the timing, the great day of liberation is near (Refrain 2.) (Shouts.)
- 395 Music ends. No Sign Off
-

8 May 2130

CASSETTE #1

005 No Sign On. Refrain 2

015 Que Sienta y Adoré Vámos Good evening... were on 3500 kilocycles... the communist goal in Latin America is not the expropriation of the poor... agents in the Soviet embassy are the ultimate destiny of the masses... the communist goal is to replace Latin America's prime resources and the power of its labor force, through industry... the US asked the Xth Conference in Caracas to investigate communist penetration in the hemisphere, and Guatemala was the only vote against... Agents of the Soviets wage an ideological war that is more dangerous than an armed war... it is advantageous to them because they need shed no blood of their own, only that of foreign peoples... their dream is of a Soviet Union of Popular Republics of Latin America... the assassination in British Guyana and the nationalization of the tin mines in Bolivia were the reaction to errors which must be corrected and avoided in the future... we must combat communism, but also avoid errors that help Soviet penetration efforts... goals on to distal from the USSR penetrate communist countries: recruit agents; divide and confuse... destroy church, army, patriotism, international frontiers... This communist government must disappear forever... we are not asleep, we have profound aspirations for Guatemalan happiness and liberty... the nine years of continued oppression are coming to an end... the hour is near, Guatemalans, and the Arbenz regime is beginning to tremble. (Refrain 2.)

146 "You Owing to Me." (Patt Page?) (Refrain 2.)

192 Alma Chacra, featuring group "Alma de Guatemala." Two-step "Vámos," son chapin "El Patateiro," poem "La Llorona." (Refrain 2.)

383 Sign off.

8 May 1990

CASSETTE #3

005 Musical overture. Sign On 1. Refrain 2.

041 Modelling Musical on Ayé. [?] Bolero. "El Bolero Guatemalteco." Los Temperamental son Chapín "La Profecía." (See General Notes section for words to this political, anti-Arbenz song. After the playing of this song, announcer leaded the first verse, and says one verse will be taught each day.) "Vale por tanto, "Estrellita que Sur." (Refrain 2.)

026 Nuestro Campesino Rebelde. [?] Denunciation of newspaper ad taken out in Mexico by "Society of Friends of Guatemala," defending the Arbenz government. . . nothing but a band of communists paying ads paid for with Guatemalan money provided by the Guatemalan government. . . involvement of these people in the "insidery" is further proof of Arbenz' service to the Kremlin. . . the "contradictor" are effectively unnecessary Arbenz and company. . . these ads cost the people of Guatemala 100,000 quetzales. . . in the name of the 50% of Guatemalans who are anti-Communist, we say to the stupid society. . . how is it paid? . . . Guatemalans, not Mexican communists, will manage our internal affairs. . . for the Guatemalan leaders who belong to this Mexican communist "society," they take is coming. . . it is not far off. . . Guatemalans, be ready for the struggle because the great time battle is making!

350 Sign off.

6 May 2026

CASSETTE #2

003 No Sign On - Refrain 2

015 Compendio al Desolado ("I broad, sweeping attack on communists, Arbenz and several other leaders - government full of people loyal to communists, but ungrateful - false technicians and intellectuals are glorified - whatever masks they wear, Arbenz, Jaime (aka Remigio, Gonzalez Juarez) and all the others are bourgeois, the very group which Vladimir Ilich (Lenin) attacked with the greatest viciousness... wherever these people will be the victims not of the opposition which they have persecuted so avidly, but of their very comrades, the 'townsfolk' whom today they receive at 'the banquet of the national hidden majority'... communal assassination means torture and assassination, and that's what awaits these people (at the hands of today's comrades) - but if the communists don't even the score, we are here to claim the debt of honor... the legacy of Guatemala has disappeared... the next war that the communists have been nursing is perhaps near... what awaits these communist pigs (pardon comrades) when the hornblows start? the people of Guatemala (army, labor, peasants, students, professionals) will not let them go unpunished... 'Moralist anti-Communist Guatemalans have the right in the truth, and we will soon inform you to the date of the liberation' (Refrain 2)

109 Hermenio Alcala: "The Barber of Seville," "Waltz of the Merry Widow" (Refrain 2)

340 Sign off

004 No Sign On. Rehearsal 2.

014 Que Sonos y A donde Vamos: We continue to explain the reasons for our struggle through these broadcasts... analyses of last couple of weeks... persecution of citizens... arbitrary abuse... FGT and PC abuse, along with smaller parties... but we want everyone to be calm and ready for the coming struggle... inevitable confrontation... a new democratic Guatemala... once we get rid of these assassins led by Arceiz and his Moscoso cronies... these communists have abused, humiliated and attempted to destroy everything that belongs to us... motherland, religion, personality, dignity, honor, etc... we must crystallize our ideology and define the basic principles of the political program we are prepared to defend and implement since the current mess has been cleaned up... our political creed is democracy... more rights of the people... health, education, housing and culture... we have adopted the symbols of God, Country and Liberty... and the postulates of Justice, Truth and Work... each of these... we'll combat Communism with all available resources... must change public conscience... human dignity... need new laws... freedom of speech, religion, meeting, residence and movement, and all other freedoms proclaimed by democracy and defended by law... provide all other facets of their philosophy... modernization of penal institutions, respect for human dignity, rehabilitation... respect for private life, family, conscience, conscience, tone and reputation will be guaranteed... right to participate in government through free elections... access to public functions... Tomorrow we will speak of climate and labor, the economy, tourism and anthropology. [Rehearsal 2]

188 Alma Chirapa: Marimba music featuring the group "Alma de Guatemala". Buenos

365 Sign off

8 May 2130

CASSETTE #14

- 004 Sign On 1. 3530 kcs. Retran 2
- 043 *Itale al Son Sur la Topera* [?] National sponsorship of Causa Cause Nacional where you can see the great magician Jorge Tonello, who can make a whole lot of jewels disappear into thin air, and get 250,000 quetzales of sugar into his pocket. Amazing! You will also see the great voladorist Georgi Makitkov and his dummy Jacobo. Eña y Pipoma, "El Chacheche del Tren." "Mama la O." "Barquito de Vela Vela." [Retran 2.]
- 221 *Recomiendo a los Guatemaltecos* [?] A call to all anti-Communists, to all those who don't want to see Guatemaltecos bound hand and foot, turned over to the Kremlin, to undo. The opposition continues to organize for the coming struggle... we urge Guatemaltecos not to attend meetings and labor and peace conferences organized by the communists... when the suppression of the working class is requested, and when class warfare is fomented... then this comes to form a single front, where we are all brothers... the hour of great decisions is getting closer... when it comes, fight with all your strength against communism... help destroy their propaganda apparatus, don't buy red newspapers
- 340 *Colábrese Ud. también con su sistema parte, dispendio al contenido de nuestros programas, sus horas de transmisión, y las frecuencias en que operamos* -- 6360 kcs onda corta durante el día, y 3530 kcs onda corta por las noches. Gracias por hoy y hasta muy pronto. Sigue Ud. en nuestra sintonía.
- [Dispendio with us. As a minimum, pass on the contents of our programs, our broadcast hours and our operating frequencies -- 6360 kcs short wave during the day, and 3530 kcs short wave at night. Thanks for today and until soon. Keep listening.] (Music.)
- 375 Music ends. No sign off.

7 May

CASSETTE #13

- 004 This is a speech before the Congress, probably by Alburt. It is something of a "state of the union" address.
- 4:35 [Speech cuts off in mid-sentence. Nothing further on tape.]
-